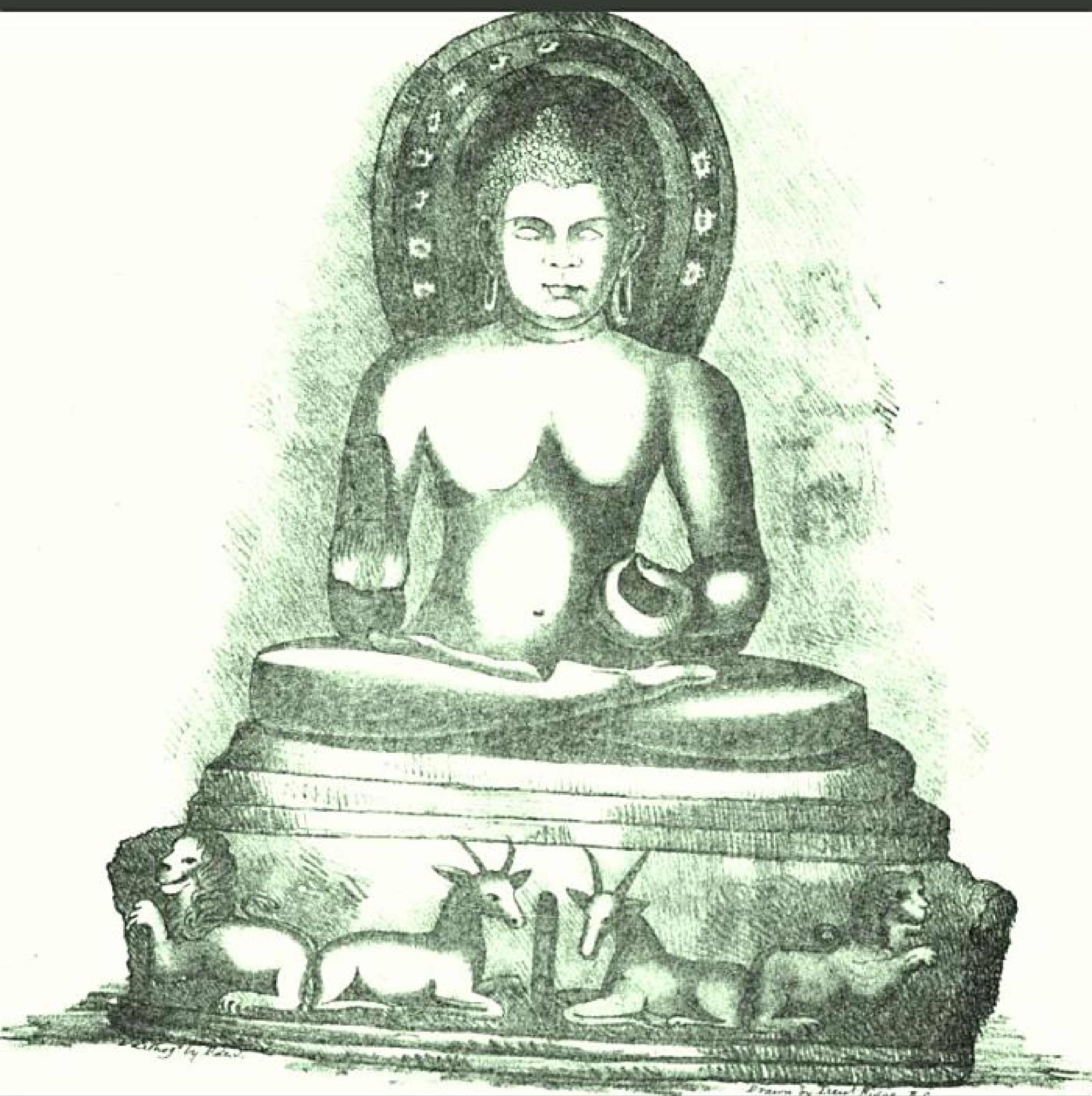
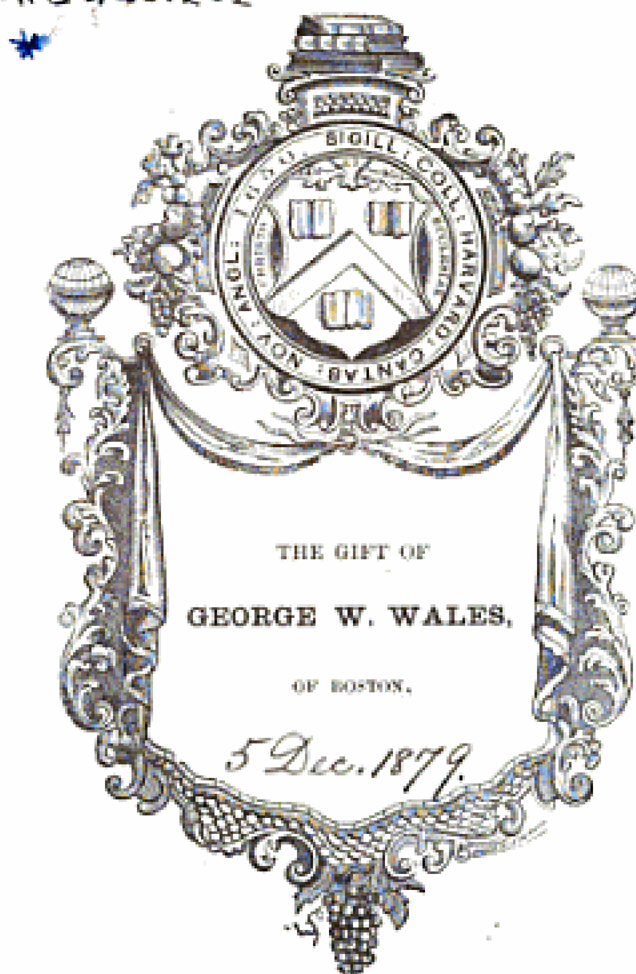


Historical researches on the origin and principles of the ...

James Bird


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THE GIFT OF
GEORGE W. WALES,
OF BOSTON.
5 Dec. 1879.

HISTORICAL RESEARCHES

ON THE ORIGIN AND PRINCIPLES OF THE

BAUDDHA AND JAINA RELIGIONS:

EMBRACING THE LEADING TENETS OF THEIR SYSTEM, AS FOUND PREVAILING IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES;

Illustrated by descriptive accounts of the Sculptures

IN THE

CAVES OF WESTERN INDIA,

WITH TRANSLATIONS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS FROM THOSE OF

KANARI, KARLI, AJANTA, ELLORA, NASIK, &c.

WHICH INDICATE THEIR CONNEXION WITH THE

COINS AND TOPES

OF THE

PANJAB AND AFGHANISTAN.

BY

JAMES BIRD, Esq., M.R.A.S, & F.R.G.S.

VICE-PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY OF THE BOMBAY ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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To

THE RIGHT HONORABLE LORD VISCOUNT HARDINGE, G. C. B.,

GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF BRITISH INDIA.

My Lord,

In dedicating this volume to you, I acknowledge a proud feeling, and gratified obligation, that, in your public capacity, you should have honored my humble endeavours, to obtain clearer historical knowledge of ancient India by recommending me to the authorities at home as a fit superintendent of the literary investigation about to be commenced, under the sanction of the Court of Directors. The compliment was as unlooked for, as it is gratifying; and is a proof of what every branch of the public service might have expected from a continuance of your administration; characterized, as it has been by firmness and decision in the hour of danger, and by equity and nobly generous feeling, for the claims of the governed, in the time of peace.

With sentiments of the sincerest respect and regard, I subscribe myself,

Your Lordship's faithful and obliged servant,

James Bird.

Bombay, 17th November, 1847.

PREFACE.

There is scarcely any subject in Archæology which has excited more interest, or is better deserving of investigation than the origin and progress of Buddhism. The religion of so large a portion of the human race, which spread itself from the Indus to the most eastern limits of China, and from Ceylon to the confines of Siberia, carrying with it a knowledge of letters, and civilizing in its progress the rude Nomadic tribes of Central and Western Asia, is surely well worthy the attentive consideration of every one interested in the history of mankind. It is generally admitted that the dogmas of this faith had their rise in India, and were propagated by its missionaries to the various regions where it still flourishes. But while the caves of this country are existing evidences of the dominant influence, in ancient times, of Indian Buddhism, it is scarcely comprehensible, as M. Burnouf wrote to Mr. Prinsep, how our Government could have so long neglected monuments of such historical importance, associated as they are with the former state of India, and with the moral and religious condition of its people.

The Court of Directors have at length, however, responded to the Royal Asiatic Society's representation of the duty imposed on us, as a nation, to preserve these relics of ancient art, and have accordingly sent out orders, to each Presidency, that measures be adopted to keep them from further decay. They are also about to institute an Archæological commission, for investigating the architectural character and age of the several monuments: an inquiry, which though long neglected, and left to other nations less interested than ourselves in India, is likely to aid in dispelling the mist which for centuries has enveloped the historical age of these excavations and the object of their structure.

If there be any merit in this volume, on the Caves of Western India, it is mainly due to Mr. Wathen, formerly Chief Secretary to the Bombay Government; with whom originated, in 1836, the idea of obtaining *fac-similes* of the inscriptions, and of illustrating, by lithography, the architecture of the caves, and the *frescos* which cover the interior of those at *Ajanta*. After causing several of the inscriptions at Kanari to be copied, he despatched a native artist to *Ajanta*, to make coloured drawings of such *fresco* paintings as were to be found there. These, were subsequently handed over to the author, in order that they might be accompanied by a description of the caves, and form the basis of the present publication; which was advertised, by Mr. Wathen, in Prinsep's Journal for 1837, with a view to obtain subscribers. The disadvantages under which these sketches were necessarily procured, and lithographed, will offer, it is hoped, a sufficient apology for their imperfections; though such are the less to be regretted, as Captain Gill, since employed by the Madras Government, has succeeded in obtaining more ac-

curate and better executed drawings. Captain Gill's sketches, with plans of the caves, have been forwarded to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, and will we hope shortly be made public, to receive the favourable notice they deserve.

The Rev. Dr. J. Wilson, formerly President of the Bombay Asiatic Society, having moreovor, with great liberality and kindness, placed, at the author's disposal, *fac-similes* of all the inscriptions at Karli, induced him to extend his researches beyond the *Ajanta* caves, embracing most of those situated in the Bombay territory. Arrangements were acordingly made for obtaining accurate *fac-similes* of all the inscriptions at Kanari; and, on application made by Dr. Stovell to Mr. Reeves, of the Bombay Civil Service, copies of the Nasik inscriptions, along with some drawings of the caves, were kindly forwarded by him for the author's use.

A brief account of the minor Bauddha caves of Beira and Bajah, in the neighbourhood of Karli, with copies of the inscriptions was also communicated to the author, through the kindness of Mr. N. L. Westergaard of Copenhagen, during his visit to this country. This, with a translation of the inscriptions, was published in the Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal for May 1844, and contains some important additions to our religious and historical knowledge of the caves.

A visit paid to Ajanta and Ellora, by the author, in 1828, gave him an opportunity of examining and describing the caves there; which description, and similar accounts by him of Kanari, Karli, Aurangabad, Mahar, and Badami are given in these pages. These, augmented by Professor Orlebar's contribution on the caves at Junir, and some notices, by others, of those at Nasik and Mahamalaiapur, are the materials from which the second chapter has been drawn.

To all these gentlemen the author is under the deepest obligations for much valuable information; and if the preparation of this volume can in any way redeem the character of our countrymen from the imputation of indifference to a most interesting class of monuments, *they* are entitled to the largest share of public thanks for enabling him to bring forward, in this form, a subject so long lost sight of.

The author's best acknowledgments are also due to Dr. Stevenson for his translation of the Nasik inscription; a document of considerable importance, showing as it does by whom such monuments were constructed and to what purpose they were dedicated.

The translations of the Cave inscriptions reveal to us a series of facts of the highest importance to an authentic history of ancient India; and establish beyond doubt that Brahmanism, as developed in the *Vedas*, preceded Buddhism; and that the latter, whose philosophical doctrines belonged to a more advanced state of civilization, is largely indebted for many of its tenets to an extra-Indian source. Independent of the mere interest attached to the rise and progress of Buddhism, the subject may be regarded in a yet higher point of view, in connection with the intellectual darkness of India. In opposition to hereditary pretension of superiority, and deeply rooted religious prejudice, Buddhism was able to break down the interested resistance made against the asserted equality of all mankind, and their right to participate in privileges of place and religion, which had been usurped by a few. The lesson, as regards the dissemination of true religion and

the subversion of error, is not to be thrown away by those anxious for the welfare and happiness of a heathen people, showing, as it does that Brahmanical prejudices and Hindu customs are not of that unchangeable character so long and erroneously ascribed to them.

Some apology is requisite for the length of time which has elapsed between the advertisement and publication of the present work. The delay has arisen partly from the author's other onerous avocations, and partly from his desire that this first edition, in India, might appear under circumstances, which would admit of a second and improved one from the English Press, to be published under his own immediate superintendence. In this he hopes he will be able to include Mr. Westergaard's account of the caves at Beira and Bajah; and to enter more minutely into the history of Buddhism in various countries, and of its connection with other religious systems.

The historical sketch, contained in the present edition, professes only to embrace such points as seemed necessary for the better understanding of the purposes for which the Western Excavations were made, and the time and circumstances of the religion, in connexion with which they were patronized by kings.

Typographical errors are numerous, but the time and trouble necessary for publishing such a work, in India, must plead as an apology, particularly as the author had neither leisure nor opportunity to print along with it a list of errata.

Bombay, November 8th, 1847.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE I.

Is a drawing of the colossal figures, upwards of twelve feet in height, carved at the entrance of the small arched cave at *Ajanta*, which is situated east of the great central one, and represents Buddha standing. It was kindly sent me by the late Lieut. Ridge of the Bengal Cavalry, who visited Ajanta the year after I did, while the fresco paintings were yet fresh and uninjured.

PLATE II.

Represents Buddha seated on a *Sinhasan* or throne, on the front of which are carved, in *basso relievo*, antelopes and lions. The figure is mutilated but was selected by Lieut. Ridge, being the most perfect he could find.

PLATE III.

Are two figures painted in *fresco* on the columns of the large central cave, at Ajanta, as noticed in the account of that excavation. The exact features, form, and colours, with all the free boldness of outline and knowledge of drawing evinced by the original, are retained in this sketch. The scale is about 18 inches.

PLATES IV. AND V.

Are two *Dehgops*, the first of which was taken from the small arched cave to the east, and is exactly like the one at the extremity of the large central excavation at Ajanta. For these I am also indebted to Lieut. Ridge, who was an enthusiastic admirer of these remains of ancient superstition.

The following are from the drawings of the Native artist sent to Ajanta by Mr. Wathen.

PLATE VI.

Represents a composite *Dehgop*, taken from cave No. VI west. On the lower part, and in front, images of *Buddha* are sculptured in a standing posture, beneath a canopy; from the pillars of which flame is depicted ascending, similar to that on the shoulders of the Bauddha image found at Kabul, noticed at page 62, and considered demonstrative of the union which appears to have existed between the Bauddha and Mithraic creeds.

PLATES VII. TO XII.

Represent Buddha in various sitting attitudes with a *nimbus* round the head, and the hands in different positions, indicative of *dhyan* or *mental abstraction;* the act of creating and evolving into new forms the different orders of being. The head is sometimes covered by a *tiara*, the pyramidal *mukut*, or crest of *Buddha.* The figures are accompanied by the symbol of the *Makara*, (the Indian crocodile) which is the type of *Kama*, the Hindu Apollo, who is consequently named *Makara Dhwaja*, or he *with the sign of the crocodile.* This type is satisfactory proof of the similarity of mythological ideas existing, in ancient times, between special worshippers of *Vishnu*, who identified him with *Vasudeva* or *Bhagavata*, and those of the more orthodox *Vaishnavas*, who made *Vasudeva* the same with *Krishna*, only another form of the Hindu *Kama* or *Cupid;* who, as representing the sun, appears to have been confounded with *Buddha, the excellent one of the sun, the heavenly Gautama.* See pages 22 and 62.

PLATES XIII. TO XV.

Various orders of pillars from the Ajanta caves.

PLATES XVI. AND XVII.

The front of the large cave at Junir, and the *Dehgop* from the interior.

PLATE XVIII.

Fresco paintings of heads on the walls at Ajanta.

PLATE XIX.

Fresco figures and panels of flowers from the roof of the large painted cave at Ajanta, situated west of the central one.

PLATE XX.

A fresco painting of six Buddhas springing from the lotus. There is a series of five celestial or *Dhyani Buddhas*, to whom are assigned the five elements of matter, the five powers of human sense, the five respective objects of sensation, and the five colours of the rainbow, white, blue, yellow, red and green: but there is also a series of six *Dhyani* Buddhas, named Vairochana, Akshobya, Ratna Sambhava, Amitabha, Amogha Siddha, and Vajra Satwa; to which are ascribed intellectual form, and the discrimination between good and evil, The appearance of this series in the Ajanta caves, and in conformity with the Bauddha notions, introduced from India into Nepal about the middle of the 7th century of our era, would seem to imply that these excavations could not have been earlier than the beginning of the 6th century.

PLATES XXII TO XXXIII.

Are various fresco drawings from Ajanta, depicting Buddha in his *jatakas*, or mortal transmigrations while on earth; which are usually to be met with inside of Bauddha temples, and are intended as pictorial lessons, to the disciples, of the moral and religious knowledge they teach. The distinctive mark of the disciples here is the *utpala padma*, or water lily, and jewels of various kinds, which are said by Csoma Korosi to have been characteristic of the followers of *Rahula*, the son of Sakya, who recited the *Sutra* on emancipation, in Sanskrit, and affirmed the existence of all things.

THE

CAVES OF WESTERN INDIA.

INTRODUCTION.

The Brahmanical religion is now prevalent in the various districts of India; but there was a period in the history of the country when the rival system of Buddha shared with it the idolatrous veneration of the people, and powerful sovereigns, who were converted to this belief, encouraged those professing its tenets to maintain and extend them. Amidst the systematic perversion of Brahmanical chronology, and the fables of the present mythological system of the Hindus, we look in vain for a consistent account of these events: but the knowledge of them has been preserved, for more than twenty centuries, in the inscriptions on the lion pillars, or *Laths*, of Tirhut, Allahabad, and Dehli; the colonnade of the Bhilsa monument in Malwa; and the rocks of Girnar and Dhauli, in Kahtiwar and Orissa. The Bauddha religion is still professed by a greater number of human beings than any other on the face of the earth; being prevalent in Ceylon, Siam, Ava, Pegu, the Birman Empire, China, Tibet, Manchu and Moghul Tartary; yet no living remnant of its followers is now met with in India, excepting the Jain sectaries who resemble them, and whose legendary history is connected with the æra of Buddha, and some of the original supporters of this faith. On looking at the Indian provinces, where unquestionable Bauddha monuments remain, we are surprised at the great extent of country, over which this religion was spread; and view with wonder the relics which mark its former existence: scattered as they are from the caves of Balkh-Bamian and the Indus westward, to the confines of Nepal and the Ganges eastward; from Kashmir and the sources of the Jelum, on the north, to the southern promentary of Cape Comorin, and the island of Ceylon.

These Indian remains of now extinguished sectaries consist of three different kinds of monuments: 1st of *Thupas*, * or monumental receptacles for the bones of a Rahat or saint; 2nd *Laths*, or sand stone obelisks, surmounted by a lion, accompanied by inscriptions of royal edicts regarding the ceremonial observances of the faith; and 3rd cave temples, which, are either flat roofed, and contain, in the interior recess, a gigantic statue of Buddha, or are oblong, arched above, having pillars passing down each side, which meet at the further extremity in an elliptical curve: where stands a stone column of a hemispherical figure, sometimes surmounted by an umbrella of stone or wood, and supposed to cover relics of Buddha. The Thupas, or mausolea, which are massive stone buildings in the form of a cupola, rising from a low cylindrical base like the hemispherical column, or *Dehgop*, of the caves, are situated chiefly on the roads leading from Persia, Bactria, and Kashmir into Hindustan. When opened they are found to enclose urns of bronze, or other metal, containing funeral ashes, or the debris of human bones, accompanied by coins inscribed, on the obverse, with Greek letters, and on the reverse with Bactrian Pali, or the alphabet of the *Lath* inscriptions. The tumuli at Manikyala, situated between the Jelum, or Hydaspes, and the Indus, which were opened by Generals Ventura and Court, are among the most celebrated of these curious monuments of antiquity; and the stones which serve to cover niches containing coins and urns are covered with inscriptions in the Bactrian Pali character. The hemispherical tumulus of Bhilsa, situated on a detached hill on the west bank of the Betwa river in Malwa, and which has four ornamented gateways, belongs to this class of monuments. One of the inscriptions on the colonnade contains a positive date, the tenth of the month "*Bhadrapadik*," in the ninth year of the reign of the great Emperor Chandragupta, (Sandracottus), who cotemporary with Alexander the Great, and Seleucus, flourished in the end of the fourth century before Christ. Capt. Edward Fell, who first published a sketch of the monument, in the Calcutta Journal of the 11th July 1819, talks of an inscription giving the date of the erection, in Samvat † 18, or 40 B. C. but this requires to be verified, and may have been mistaken for the date alcady mentioned. § The mound of Dipaldina, situated on the Warda river, at the town of Amaravati, west of Nagpur, and in the province of Berar, belongs also to this class. It was first noticed by the late Colonel McKenzie; and since then a mound, one hundred and fifty feet in diameter, on which the *Dehgop* stood, has been converted into a tank.

* Thupa, from which we have got the English word *Tope*, is the Pali term for a monumental receptacle of the bones of Buddha or of a Rahat. See Clough's Pali vocabulary, page 56.

† The Samvat, as meaning a year by pre-eminence, is the Indian Era of Vikramaditiya, made by some to commence fifty-six years and by others fifty eight B. C.: but it is also used to express the individual æra of particular Kings as was the custom of the Balhara Emperors.

§ See Prinsep's Journal 1834. Vol. iii. page 489; and for 1837. Vol. vi. page 455. In Mr. Ps. observations, to which the latter reference is made, it is conjectured that the circle enclosing a cross, with three horizontal dashes to the right, might express three quarters of the year being elapsed; but the reader is referred to his subsequent remarks on the ancient Sanscrit numerals, Vol. vii, page 348, where he will find that ∾ stands for Samvat, or year of the Kings reign, and the other ⊕ for the numeral 9

The second class of Bauddha monuments are the obelisks: one of which is at Allahabad, two are at Dehli, and three on the river Gandak, situated along the northern route from *Palibothra*, or Patna, to Nepal. The first of the three last is at Bakra, in North Bahar, and in sight of the high road to Hajipur. It is surmounted by a lion; and a few yards to the north of it there is a Bauddha mound of solid brick work. The second obelisk at Radiah, in the zemindary of Bettiah, has no lion; but both this and the third one at Mathiah, which has also a lion, bear inscriptions, which the lamented Mr. Prinsep discovered to be identical with those on the pillars of Allahabad and Dehli. To this highly gifted and ingenious scholar we are also indebted for the discovery of the character in which the inscriptions are written, and for a translation of them; by which we are made acquainted with one of the most important and interesting events in the history of this country, namely the conversion to *Buddhism* of *Asoka*, the grandson of *Chandragupta*, and then supreme sovereign of India. The intent of the royal convert, in publishing these edicts, was to spread wide the knowledge that he regarded as sinful the Brahmanical principles of his former faith; that the sacrifice of blood and the meat offering should be interdicted as contrary to the tenets of his new creed; that the principles of *Shakya's* reform was to inculcate an adherence to the divine attribute of Dhamma, (or dharma), "virtue;" that the chief excellence of religion consists of good works, and is manifested by acts of mercy, charity, purity, and chastity; and that all who look for the attainment of eternal happiness should practice benevolence to the poor and afflicted, towards bipeds and quadrupeds. The spreading fig tree, the myrobolan, and the great *dhatris* or whatever afforded nourishment, are to be held sacred; and the devotees, who receive gifts of villages for the maintenance of this worship, are to exercise solitary austerities. *

The sovereign who issued these edicts, and reigned B. C. 247, is mentioned in them under the surname of *Devanampiya Piyadasi*, or Piyadasi beloved of the gods; and is the same as *Dharma Asoka*, who previous to ascending the throne of Magadha,† and while viceroy at Ujjayan, for his father Bindusara, had the appellation of Piyadasi: as appears from a passage of the Dipowanso ‡ quoted by the Pali annalist of Ceylon, the Honorable Mr. Turnour. According to the Mahawanso, translated by this gentleman, and which sheds much light on the political and religious state of ancient India, he was called Asoka because of his former sinful act in having murdered his brother; but was afterwards distinguished by the title of Dhammo Soko, on account of his pious conduct, in erecting Viharas in every direction throughout the ocean bound Jambudipo, or India.§ The circumstances, under which these Bauddha edifices were erected are related in the Ceylon annals; and the interpreted text of the obelisk inscriptions bears testimony to the general fidelity of this history. The facts are yet further confirmed by Mr. Remusat's translation, from Chinese, of the Foe-kue-ki, or travels of Fa Hian; ‖ who visited the chief seats of the Bauddha religion in India, about A. D. 406.

But while the pillar inscriptions, embracing a series of edicts, promulgated by Asoka, are objects of such interest, the rock inscriptions of Girnar and Dhauli are yet more deserving of our notice; as they reveal to us the names of the Greek sovereigns, Ptolemy, Antigonus, and Antiochus, preserved in the proclamations of the same Great Hindu sovereign, who here issues his commands for the establishment of an asylum of medical administration, throughout his dominions, including both man and beast, in accordance with the humanity of the Buaddha creed. Mr. Prinsep, in identifying the Antiochus here mentioned, thought that the allusion of the edict has reference to Antiochus the Great, but afterwards modified his opinion, that the Antiochus of this proclamation must, from his close family connection with Ptolemy Philadelphus, be Antiochus Theos. Magas the half brother of Ptolemy Philadelphus is noticed in these inscriptions, and the fact would, in some degree, warrant Mr. Prinseps theory; but I am disposed to think that the Antiochus of Asoka's edict is the rival brother of Seleucus Callinicus; in whose quarrels with his brother, Arsaces the first having interfered — made himself powerful. The Ptolemy then of this inscription must be Ptolemy Evergetes; who, after the murder of Antiochus Theos, B. C. 247, by his first wife Laodice, marching to assist his own sister Berenice, the second wife of the murdered sovereign, crossed the Euphrates, and entered Persia, Media, and Bactria, occupyng the country even as for as India. ¶ This expedition rests on the authenticity of the Adulitic inscription of Cosmas Indicopleustes; and the time of Asoka's accession to power, B. C. 247, as fixed by Mr. Turnour, harmonizes well with the period of Ptolemy's transactions.

The intercourse maintained with India by the Seleucidœ, and by their successors the Bactrian and Parthian kings, is obscurely and unconnectedly noticed by classical history: and though Bayer has with much learning

* Prinsep's interpretation of the inscriptions on the columns of Delhi, Allahabad, and Betiah. See Journal, Vol. vi. page 566, 609.

† The province of Bahar, on the Ganges, was anciently known by the name of Magadha. Wilford says that it was called from the Magas, who came from the Dwipa of Saca, (Scythia,) and settled in the country which had been previously known by the name of Kikata. The northern part of Bahar, or Tirhut, where are found the Lath inscriptions, was the part of it particularly named Magadha; and the southern portion, including the caves of Gaya, and the mountain of Kukutapada was called Kikata.

‡ Prinsep's Journal vol. VI. page 791. The Dipowanso, to which the Mahawanso, or Pali history of Ceylon, refers was compiled by the Bauddha fraternity of *Anarudhapura;* which is the Anuragramam metropolis of Ptolemy; and was in his time, A. D. 138, the capital of Ceylon.

§ See Turnour's Mahawanso, page 35.

‖ See account of these travels by Professor H. H. Wilson, Director R. A. S. in the Society's Journal vol. V. page 108.

¶ See Vincent's appendix, No. II. of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, page 57, which quotes Bayer, on the authority of Polyœnus, Evergetes, devicit Seleucum; omnia sine bello et certamine occupavit a Tauro usque in Indiam."

illustrated the scattered materials relative to the former, and Vaillant has written a history of the latter, a clear chronological arrangement of the Kabul and Punjab coins, found by Burnes, Ventura, Masson, and others, is yet required; and without it no trustworthy opinion can be given, as to what influence the practical idolatry of people westward of the Indus had on the religious opinions of those eastward of the river; or how far Grecian and Scythian ideas of cosmogony and theogony enter into the mythological system of the Hindus.

The expedition of Alexander the Great, and the embassy of Meghastenes, B. C. 312, sent by Seleucus Nicator to Sandrocottus, are the sources from which the western world derived clear ideas of the geographical and political state of ancient India: and a connexion thus established was continued and improved by the Bactrian Greeks, and Parthians. That this intercourse and connexion was more intimate and influential than is found on record, in classical history, may be deduced from these edicts, and the fact that the early Hindu money of Kanauj and Ceylon has its origin from the Indo—Scythian and Indo-Sassanian coinage; inscribed respectively with legends in Greek, and the Pali character of these rock inscriptions.* But anterior to the æra of these coins, from which the Hindu series take their origin, or B. C. 195, we find that the genuine Greek series of Bactria, the coins of Apollodotus, Menander, and Eucratides, have the Greek titles translated into Sanscrit; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ being rendered *Maharajasa Raja-dhi-rajasa Eokatidasa.* On the reverse of the coins of the Parthian king Vonones-II, † who was governor of Media Atropatene, for his brother Artabanus III, and succeeded his nephew Bardanes, in supreme power A. D. 51, we first meet with the well known Indian litle of *Balhara*: the kingdom of whose successors, A. D. 915, is said by Masudi to be situated south of the kingdom of Kanauj, and to be occupied by people who spoke many different languages resembling the *Larvi* or Sindian. This great kingdom which extended from the country of Khozar, in the neighbourhood of the Caspian, along the Indus and sea coast to its capital Mankir,‡ was called Kankar.§ Its King was at war with the kingdom of Kanauj; and Tartarian dirhems, equal to one dirhem and half, which were struck at *Bak*, a city on the Oxus, were current in this country.

The connexion and intercourse of the Indian aborigines with foreign tribes is thus well established, on the evidence of inscriptions, coins, and history: and the Indian missions sent to Augustus Cæsar, Claudius and Trajan, originated probably from the Indian connexion with the Parthians, with whom the Romans were at war. Strabo, on the testimony of Nicolaus Damascenus, relates that ambassadors from Porus to Augustus brought letters written in Greek, stating that the former ruled over six hundred kings ‖: and the knowledge of India, and of the tenets of the Sramani, (Buddhists,) possessed by the Alexandrine authors, Clemens Alexandrinus and Jerome, must have been derived from travellers, and Christian missionaries who visited India between the first and sixth centuries of our æra. The cave inscriptions may be expected to afford some evidence of this foreign intercourse: but previous to any observations on the third class of Buddhist monuments we are bound to notice the second series of rock and pillar inscriptions, which have relation to the *Gupta* dynasty of Kings; whose coins found in India, and whose position among its sovereigns, have been well illustrated by Mr. Prinsep and Doctor Mill.¶

The rocks at Girnar appear to contain three series of inscriptions; those of the eastern side facing the Girnar hill being the edicts of *Asoka* in the old character. On the western side, there is a Sanscrit inscription embracing the history of the Girnar bridge and containing the name of Chandragupta Maurya, (Sandracottus of the Greeks): and on the southern side a third inscription, more modern, in the Gupta alphabet; the same as that of the second inscription on the Allahabad pillar, which was in common use from the fifth to the ninth century A. D. ** The Gupta family of these last inscriptions is not that of the celebrated cotemporary of Seleucus Nicator, but belongs to a race of Sudras, mentioned by the *Vishnu Purana.*†† They reigned as would appear over Magadha and Kanauj, after the Kshetrya rule had been abolished, and the dynasty of the Andhra kings, noticed by Pliny, had come to an end, A. D. 476, or some what later perhaps, in the beginning of the sixth century. The precise period when they flourished has not yet been satisfactorily

* See Prinsep's observations on Indo-Scythic and Hindu coins, and those descended from the Parthian type: Journal A. S. VI p. 634 Vol. VI p. 298.

† I must refer the reader to the chronological observations by me on these coins; which will be published in the Journal of the Calcutta A. S.

‡ This must be Mongir on the Ganges, near which, at Buddal, there is an inscription translated A. R. Vol. 1 p. 123-133; and whose date cannot be long after this time. The Sri Deva Pal of the grant, Lord of the great Sugats, or Bhuddhists, appears to have belonged to the family that erected the temple of Sarnath, near Benares, as noticed in my introduction to the history of Gujarat p. 54.

§ This is probably the country of *Kanaka* mentioned in Wilfords Geography of the Puranas, As: Res. Vol. VIII p. 339, and appears at the end of the west, associated with the Haihaya or Persians, and Panchanada or Panjab. It is the same also as is mentioned under the names of *Sana Kanika* and *Kakakhara* in the inscription of the Allahabad pillar. See Prinseps Journal Vol. VI p. 973.

‖ Strabonis Geograph. Lib. XV p. 720.

¶ See Dr. Mill's translation of the Allahabad inscription, No. 2, and historical note on ditto, Journal Vol, iii p. 257 and 339: also Mr. Prinsep's observations on Hindu coins, Vol: iv p. 643. See moreover Mr. Prinsep's re-examination of the No. 2 inscription on the Allahabad pillar, Vol: vi p. 971, where he finds that the epithets applied to the deceased Emperor of Hindustan, (Sumadra Gaypta,) indicate the political divisions at the time; andthat it contains the names and titles of the reigning families; whose power extended beyond the boundaries of India proper into the regions of the "Great King of Persia, and the hords of the Huns and Scythians."

** Journal As. Vol vii p. 387.

†† See Wilson's Analysis of this Purana, (Journal, Vol I p. 446) which appears to have been written A. D. 954.

fixed: though we may assume that they ruled some time between the periods A. D. 470 and 720. It was during the former, according to Colonel Tod, that Nayana Pal conquered Kanauj from Aji Pal, a descendant of Aja-Medha: and in the latter the Kashmerian conqueror Lilitadetya, on the authority of the *Raja Tarangini*, expelled Yaso Verman from his kingdom.

The last class of Bauddha monuments, from which light on the history of this country may be derived are the caves.

Those of Western India long since attracted the attention of travellers and antiquaries; and individual descriptions of them, particularly those in the neighbourhood of Bombay, have at various times been communicated to the world. The excavation of Elephanta was visited, so early as A. D. 1672, by Dr. Fryer, who gave an account of it in his travels; and it has since been noticed by many others. The excavations at Kanari, on the island of Salsette, were subsequently described by Anquetil de Perron, accompanied by ground plans and some of the inscriptions, and accounts of the Ellora excavations were given by the same author, Sir Charles Mallet, and Captain Sykes. The temples of Ajanta, however, the most extensive and perfect of any of these monuments, excepting those at Ellora, remained unnoticed until Lieutenant Alexander published a brief sketch of them in the 2nd vol. of the Royal Asiatic Society's transactions, and the late lamented Mr. Prinsep made public some particulars of these antique relics in the 5th volume of his journal. Neither of these accounts however are satisfactory, as they give little or no information regarding the extent of the several caves, or the sculptures and fresco paintings which adorn them. The latter which present scenes of the peoples social habits, domestic employments, and religious opinions, are, as specimens of Bauddha art and taste, particularly worthy of attention from the literary and the curious. The interior walls are covered with paintings, which illustrate the religious opinions, and moral condition of the people of Western India, at a very remote period; and when viewed in connection with translations of the cave inscriptions, the topes and coins, found in Kabul and the Punjab, are of the utmost interest; as calculated to throw much light on the early state of Hinduism and the history of this country.

The caves of Ajanta, which were visited by me during the hot weather of 1828, were twenty two in number; of which four were arched, and the others flat roofed. The former which contain the *Dehgopa* are genuine *Chaityas*, or temples dedicated to *Adi Buddha*,* as in Nepal: the others are generally *Viharas*, or monastic institutions for the ascetics, in many of which are found images of *Buddha* seated on thrones, here sculptured with devices of different animals, now the distinguishing marks of the Jain saints, and perhaps appropriated to the different manifestations of *Buddha*. Since my visit a subscription was raised to remove obstructions and make pathways to the caves, and two new caves were thus discovered.

The following drawings, which were made and lithographed by a native artist, convey a tolerably accurate idea of the style of painting and the subject of the scenes; which represent rural processions, love and marriage, the storming of fortifications, and groups of women in various attitudes, particularly in the one of performing *Tapasya*, or religious austerity, on the *Asan Siddha* or holy bed of the ascetic. In others of the scenes teachers are represented instructing their *Chelas*, or scholars, in the art of mental abstraction, or *Dhyan*, by meditating on the blue lotus; six *Dhyani Buddhas*,† of which Vajra Satwa is the sixth, are seen springing divinely from the lotus. Another of the paintings represents the contest of the *Assuras* to get back the ravished daughter of their king, who had been carried to the *Tavatinsa* heaven, or *Bhavana* of *Indra*, an account of which is communicated in Mr. Upham's system of Buddhism. In the sculpture most of the figures have curled or wig-like hair, and their heads are generally covered by tiaras. The same are similarly represented in the paintings, which are executed "*alla fresco*" on a composition of white calcareous earth and cowdung, smoothed finely over with a thin coating of choona, or tufaceous lime, found in India. The women are always drawn without any covering to the breast, and their drapery has the form of a petticoat below, part of which is thrown in some instances over the left shoulder leaving the right breast bare. The dress of the men is nearly similar to that of the women; and the figures of both are painted black, blue, and other colours, among which however a yellow or copper brown is the prevailing one. Several animals as horses, elephants, and bullocks highly ornamented, are depicted; and some visitors remarked that three horses yoked abreast in a carriage were observable. A grave figure with curled hair, thick lips, and lobe ears, sometimes appears amongst the paintings, and is evidently of a character entirely different from the figures around him; and this with the striped petticoats of the women suggests an opinion that the people who executed the paintings were the subjects of the most illustrious Prince of the Indies, named the *Balhara*, who was king of Maharmi-al-adan, or of those who have their ears bored; and that the inhabitants were subjects of the kingdom of Calabar, who were dressed in those sorts of striped garments which the Arabs call ‡ *Fauta*.

The Buddhas here represented seem to be of all nations and colors, and have each a nimbus round their head similar to that round the heads of Christian saints, and which was not introduced we know previous

* According to the *Aishwarika*, or Theistical pantheon of Nepal — *Adi Buddha* is the self-existent original Creator.

† There is a series of five *Dhyani* or celestial *Buddhas*, to whom are assigned the five elements of matter, the five powers of human sense, and the five objects of sensation; with a sixth Buddha, emanating from Adi Buddha, and who is a secondary agent in the creation of immaterial substances.

‡ See ancient accounts of India and China by two Mahomedan travellers, who travelled in the 10th Century A. D. translated, from the Arabic, by Eusebius Renaudot, London 1733, p. 10 and 14. In a note on the History of Gujrat, p. 54, the author hazarded an opinion that these Mahomedan travellers were as late as the 12th Century, but has since found reason for altering it: as Masudi, in his work the *Meadows of Gold and Mines of jewels*, mentions that he personally obtained his account of China from the second of the travellers, Zeid-al-Hasan of Siraf, who left Persia for China, in Hej: 303. A. D. 915, and lived in the time of Masudi.

to the establishment of our æra.* The people who frequented these religious shrines must have had an extensive acquaintance with various nations; and the nicely combed and curled hair of the women, whose locks, brought down in ringlets over the ears, descending on the neck, with the head dress or fillet which surrounds the brow like a muslin band, and the high tiara of the Chiefs or Princes, loaded with pearls, indicate artificial taste and habits at the time when these paintings were executed. Some visitors have remarked that Grecian military costumes were to be seen, but I did not observe any such at my visit; and the only thing of this kind which has come to my notice is the head covering of one of the figures drawn for me by Professor Orlebar, and which certainly has a very close resemblance to the Grecian helmet. Mr Orlebar, in an account of these caves kindly communicated to me, remarks that these paintings are not historical, but seem intended to convey moral instruction, and that in the Indo-Bauddhist system education was, a primary object. In one of the Dehgop caves a female worshipper of Buddha is painted in the act of teaching, surrounded by a group of smaller figures who are attentively listening, and among whom one seems to be a Brahman. In several of the scenes representing masters teaching their scholars the modern Sannyasi of the Hindus is observable.

There is one large painting already referred to representing a siege. Mr. Orlebar remarks that on the foreground from the left the besieging army is seen in advance, and consists of elephants, infantry, and cavalry under the wall of the town. Within the walls the king is seated on his throne and surrounded by attendants; while some of the besieged are throwing themselves down from the wall on the enemy; some are descending, and some have already alighted; and of these one spirited group represents a struggle between two of the besiegers, and a warrior whose dishevelled flowing hair shews that he has just alighted, and others are on their knees begging for quarter. The wall in its construction is as singular as the defence of it. It consists of a series of peaked battlements, in which there are no loop holes. The besieged are here represented with fair European countenances, while most of the besiegers are dark. The infantry of the latter are armed with a shield and sword, of a curious form, and with a short spear. Those mounted on elephants have spears or bow and arrows; but their dress is generally scanty; and they have apparently no defensive armour. The whole appears, as I have already said, to be an attempt of the Assurs to get back the ravished daughter of their king from the heaven of Indra.

Besides these there are domestic scenes, seraglio scenes, processions, and portraits of princes, larger than the rest. There is an Abyssinian black prince seated on a bed along with a fair woman, to whom he appears to be married; here a fair man is dressed in a robe and cap like that of a Monk or Abbot, and there again, in other parts of the painting, are females seated in flower gardens surrounded by attendants, or are seen sitting within small buildings, with light pillars, resembling Chinese summer houses. Round the neck and over the right arm of many figures, male and female, the mystic triple necklace is disposed, while these hold in their hands the lotus, and appear as if engaged in the contemplation of some deep point of philosophy. Other figures, represented of a dark complexion and with curled hair, are standing on the lotus, and hold in their hands the discus, or *Chakra*, which is one of the sacred emblems in the *Phra Patha* or divine foot of Buddha, and is typical of eternity and universal domination. We learn, from Captain Low, that, according to the Siamese ritual, the worshipper with uplifted folded hands is directed to enumerate it among the sacred emblems.† The head dress of many of the figures, which is pyramidal, resembles the Persian tiara; and though less peaked than the Mukut, or crest of Buddha, depicted in the Phrabut, it may be here, as in the other, emblematical of the solar ray, being analagous, in this respect, to the winged crown on the obverse of the Sassanian coins of Persia, the reverse of which is remarkable for a fire altar, and two wheels or Chakras over the heads of the officiating priests.‡ The spirit of polytheism is disposed to imitation, so that the legends and practices of one sect are often appropriated by another. We need not therefore be surprised that the Bauddhists of Siam worship the sun, under the name of *Pra Athit*, as mentioned by Captain Low; § or that we should find pure Buddhism, on the west of India, early corrupted by an admixture of the Sabean or Magian faith; or blended, afterwards, as in Nepal, with the worship of Siva and Tantra rites. Shamanism, or the gross form of Buddhism, which exists among the Tartar tribes, is combined with astrological superstition of magic and sorcery; and, if it differs in practice, is similar in its doctrine with the *Kala Chakra* system of Tibet, which has been already explained in a note on the authority of De Koros. Whatever apparent differences may exist between the style of sculpture, and symbols which mark the alliance of one class of cave monuments with a period when primitive Bauddhist notions prevailed, and of those which refer another class of them to a time when these notions were corrupted by foreign admixture; such may be ascribed with

* The Rev. Mr. Walsh, in his essay on the ancient Christian coins and gems of the Gnostics, says that a nimbus or glory round the head was not adopted as a symbol of sanctity, before the 7th century: but there is cause for modifying this opinion, from the fact that the *Kanerkes* group of coins, and those found in the monuments of *Manikyala* in the Punjab, which are of the age of Shapur II, A. D. 310 — 380, support on the obverse, and sometimes reverse, a figure whose head is surrounded by a nimbus.

Walsh on Ancient coins p. 9. Prinseps Journal, Vol. III. p. 436.

† Captain Low on Buddha and the Phrabat. Trans. R. A. S. Vol. III. p. 71. There is a peculiar system of Buddhism entitled the *Kala Chakra*, or circle of time, which was introduced from the north into central India, about the middle of the 10th century: and afterwards found its way into Kashmir and Tibet. Besides the mystical theology and philosophy of Buddhism, there are in the system of the *Kala Chakra* several works on astronomy, astrology, and prophesy. The first tenet of this fatih is, *he that does not know the chief first Buddha, (Adi Buddha) knows not the circle of time.* See Mr. Alexander Csoma de Koros' account of this system. Prinsep's Journal, Vol. II. p. 58.

‡ See Prinsep's Journal Vol. VI. plate XIV.

§ Trans. R. A. S. iii. p. 64.

more truth to the spirit of imitation and the accommodating temper of superstition, than to the possibility of having derived their origin from rival sectaries, so opposite to each other as were the Bauddhists and Brahmans.* The caves of the western coast are doubtless Bauddha, or Jain; and of the latter only a few remains are to be met with at Ellora, which may be posterior to the corruption of pure Buddhism by Tantrika principles.

Among the paintings at Ajanta there are several portraits: one of which is a Raja on his knees performing his devotions, and there are other four placid faces of men and women. The hair of the women is tied by a bandeau, after the fashion of the women on the Garrow hills near Bhagalpur; who are described by Mr. Elliot, as having their hair bound with a tape three inches long so as to keep it back from their foreheads, though generally it is tied with a string on the crown of the head.† There is also a portrait of a lion monstrosity not unlike an Egyptian sphinx. It is deformed by a cap being given to the curling hair of its head, and a girdle to its body, and has doubtless some emblematic meaning, as it appears at the feet of a Buddha standing on the leaves of the lotus, below which the many headed Nag is painted.

Besides these there is a hunting scene, wherein dogs are represented with collars and short tails, and horses with saddles not unlike what we see in Europe. The borders and patterns on the roofs of the caves are extremely well painted, and many of them are even tasteful and elegant. Some of the colors are fresh as when they were first laid on, especially the light blue, but the red has generally faded into a dirty brown.

The designs of the several paintings are unequal; and though some be well executed, others are no better than ordinary modern Hindu productions; but even these claim our notice, as they are associated with the customs of India at a very interesting period of its history. Who were the people, of whom these paintings and sculpture are the remains? In investigating this subject the author proposes to do so under the following heads.

First, a description of the principal excavations of Western India.

Second, a sketch of the system of Buddhism, as it prevails in Ceylon, Burmah and Siam, Tibet, Tartary, and China.

Third, translations of the western cave inscriptions, and the connexion of these with Buddhism as it now prevails in other countries.

Fourth, Observations on the symbolical marks preceding the inscriptions; their similitude to those on the coins found west of the Indus and in the Punjab; and on the connexion between the *Topes*, or Bauddhist mausolea of these countries, and the western caves.

Fifth, the History of Buddhism traced and illustrated.

* See Mr. Erskine's opinion on the Brahmanical origin of part of the Ellora excavations. Transactions of the Bombay Lit. Soc. iii. p. 525.

† As. Researches: iii. p. 21.

THE

CAVES OF WESTERN INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

The Principal Excavations, and Character of their Sculptures described.

The excavations of Western India, which are met with chiefly in the Bombay territories, and the Nizam's dominions, consist of two classes. In the first of these the objects of worship, represented by the sculptures, are confined to personages and manifestations of the deity belonging to the simpler and more philosophical form of Buddhism, which seems to have prevailed at its origin; in the second the variety and modifications of objects worshipped have reference to the more complicated and extended Brahmanical Pantheon, the Sakta form of Hinduism, the worship of Siva Bhairava, in conjunction with his consort *Uma*, or Parvati.* The former characterized by symplicity of design and execution, consist of one or more arched temples, which contain the *Dehgop*, or stone spire of an hemispherical form: and these are surrounded by flat roofed excavations, in which are found one or more sitting images of Buddha, a number of small cells, and sometimes broad benches running round the apartments, shewing that such were dedicated to the use of a monastic fraternity, and the education of disciples, who had abandoned the world in order to submit to religious discipline. These temples are further distinguished by having long inscriptions in a language, which is neither pure Pali nor Sanscrit, though approaching sufficiently near either to be intelligible through their medium: and the character in which it is written differs but little from that of the inscriptions on *Asokás* pillars; which was in use we know during the third century B. C. To this class belong, as would appear, the caves of Karli, Kanari, Aurungabad, Nasik, Junir, Mahar on the Bankut river, and the southern ones at Ellora. The large excavation at Kanari, in the vicinity of Bombay, is further distinguished by having in front of it, on a ledge of the mountain, several small mounds, or burying places of *Rahats*, or saints, who were tenants of the caves. One of these, a dilapidated pyramidal building of earth and stone, was opened by me in 1839; when two copper urns containing human ashes were found. In one of the urns there was a small gold box, containing a fragment of white cotton rag, accompanied by a pearl, a ruby, and some small pieces of gold: in the other there was a silver box along with the ashes. The most interesting relics however discovered on this occasion were two copper plates,† one of which bore an inscription in the *Lath* character of the caves, and the other in a more florid writing, similar to that of the *Chattisgarh* and *Seoni* inscriptions of the 8th and 9th centuries; which has been aptly enough denominated the *Andhra* character: and from which the alphabets of the Southern Peninsula were derived. The last part of this inscription contains the Bauddha creed as inscribed on the base of the image from Tirhut, and on the

* The goddess Sivá, or wife of Siva is also designated Sati and Parvati, or Uma; and may be considered the first emanation, or personification of Nature's energy, in the business of creation: where abstract essence, antecedent to the ternary forms, or qualities of the visible world, is identified as the neuter immaterial substance, or ब्रह्म Brahma of the Upanishads, and Vedant; and the पुरुष *purush*, or the male inactive principle of the Sankhya school of philosophy. This immaterial essence of the all-pervading Deity is united to the diversities of created existence by an independant feminine principle, which is called, in the Vedantic System, *Maya* माया or illusion; but मूलप्रकृति *Mula-Prakriti* and प्रज्ञा *prajna*, or radical nature, the female principle of all in the Sankhya philosophy; of which *NOYΣ*, or intellect, बुद्धि Buddhi, and otherwise called प्रधान *pradhan*, is the first born offspring, and then all separate individual essences. In the mythological part of Hinduism the passive agent in creation, personified matter, or the goddess of nature called *Prakriti*, is considered as the universal material cause, the plastic origin of all things, and is identified in the section of the Markandeya *Purana*, called the *Devi-Mahatmya*, as Siva, or Durgá Ambika, the consort of Siva. See Dr. Mill's very clear explanation of these principles in his note on the Shekawati inscription, dated A. D. 961. Journal, Asiatic Society, Vol. IV. page 386.

† See Plates XLVII. and XLVIII. No. 18 and 19 for these inscriptions.

stone extracted from the Thupa at Sarnath, near Benares; * identifying these as Bauddha mausolea: with which the Thupas of the Punjab and Kabul are in other respects analagous.

The second class of excavations, to which belong the nine middle caves at Ellora, those at Elephanta and Badami, are characterized by a more florid and laboured style of sculpture, representing groups of many armed figures of Vishnu and Siva in their various avatars; miniature scenes of battles from the sacred epics, the Ramayana, and Mahabarat; triad figures of Siva in union with the female principle, or Uma; † and stone lingas in the recess. A greater grandeur of design and spirit of execution is observable in the figures of this class than in the simpler sculptures of the earlier Bauddha College, such as Kanari; and exaggeration is resorted to in order to give energy to the suggestions of imagination on subjects of religion to which they refer. Their architectural character too, from which the style of the ancient Hindu temples of the tenth and eleventh centuries, A. D. has been derived, would not indicate that such is the early efforts of a rude people emerging from barbarism, but rather that it has been matured by experience: and that though the types of Buddhism and Sivaism were not radically different, when the two religions emanated from a common system, yet the things here typified embrace so many Brahmanical combinations, that the very presence of Saiva symbols and images, in structures exclusively Bauddha, imply, that when such were executed, the tenets of both religions were matter of high debate in the civil society of India. The comparatively few inscriptions found in this class of caves, and the nearer approach of the letters to the present alphabets of the Southern Peninsula, point out the more modern origin of the structures: while the smaller number of cells for the priests, compared to the extent of these caves, shew that they were less places of tranquillity and retirement, for monastic establishments, than places of public resort, and pilgrimage, or *Tirthas*, for the great mass of the people.

The caves of Ajanta are of a character intermediate between these two classes of excavations, possessing much of the extent and grandeur of the latter, but without the same marked traces of Hinduism, or of *Tantrika* principles, that are found engrafted on Buddhism at Ellora. Many of the Bauddha figures would here, however, appear to be distinguished by the symbolical representation of particular animals and things, which indicate some deviation from the original worship of *Buddha Sakya*, and may be the origin of the Bauddha adaptation of Sakya's religion to Vaishnava principles, as explained in the Sri Bhagavata: by which the different descents and forms of the Deity, as Vishnu, are made the origin of the Jain saints. The images in the different caves are characterized by being represented naked or covered by a robe, and have distinguishing marks engraved on the pedestals, or *Sinhasan;* such as the ape, the lotus, the wild cow, the antelope, the goat, and the *kumbha* or jar; which are the appropriate symbols of the Jain saints, Abbimandanu, Padmaprabha, Vasupujaya, Santi, Kunthi, and Malli.‡ The Bauddha religion of Nepal acknowledges indeed many forms of Buddha, mortal and celestial: but the presence of these Jain symbols, on the pedestals of the images at Ajanta; their clothed and naked representations, similar to the Swetambara and Digambara images of the Tirthankaras, and a sculpture of Garura, supporting the roof of one of the caves, have suggested to me the opinion, that while some of the neighbouring excavations at Ellora were dedicated to Tantrika principles and Saiva mythology engrafted on Buddhism, those of the more primitive Bauddha caves at Ajanta, shew corruption from admixture with the more congenial principles of the Vaishnava faith. I give this opinion more with a view of future research by those who may find leisure for investigating the native literature and annals of the Jains, than under the conviction that it is one admitting of proof: but as the Vaishnava and Saiva faiths divided the popular mind of India, from the fifth to the tenth centuries of our æra, the opinion is worthy of consideration. The larger inscriptions too at Ajanta, though they may be long posterior to the excavations, are closely allied by the character of their alphabet, to the Chattisgarh inscriptions of the eighth and ninth centuries, which have been already noticed.

If other evidence were wanting to support the opinion now given there is one fact connected with these caves which may entitle it to respect; namely, that Buddhas of a black complexion are common in the *fresco* paintings of Ajanta, and that Arishtanemi, of the Harivansu, or race of Vishnu, who is the 22nd Jain

* See Journal A. S. Vol. IV page 133 and 211.

† The acknowledge principles of this worship have been explained, in the first note of this chapter, and as the sixth verse of the Shekawati inscription assigns to Siva the properties of the other two members of the triad, those of Preserver and Creator, as well as his own, it will be readily understood why the triad busts of Elephanta and Ellora are the two heads of Siva sculptured in conjunction with his consort Parvati. Primitive Buddhism has a close affinity with the atheistical school of the Saukhya philosophy; and the Bauddhas engrafted Tantrika practices on their original faith, the appearance of such in the sculptures will be evidence of the comparatively modern execution of such, but can be none of their Brahmanical origin.

‡ See Mr. Colebrook's observations on the Jains, As. Researches, Vol. IX. page 286.

saint,* is described of a black complexion on the authority of Hemachandra's † vocabulary, and the Kalpa Sutra, and is said to have departed this world at *Ujjunta.*‡ This is described as the peak of a mountain, but has been confounded by the commentator with Girnar in Kahtiwar. A reference to plates II, VII, VIII, and IX, of the Ajanta sculptures, will shew that the identification of the images is sometimes rendered dubious by the combination of various animals and symbols. The first from the presence of the lion and the deer appears to be Buddha, as Sinha-Natha Lokiswara. Regarding the presence of the deer, as a symbol of the forms of Buddha and the avatars of Vishnu, a curious confirmation may be found by a reference to the Bauddha coins of Behut,§ where a deer is represented standing in the moon with the inscription below of *Vappa Devasa:* and to which the ode of Jayadeva, from the Bhagavata enumerating the incarnations of Vishnu, has this allusion, — " The earth, placed on the point of thy tusk, remains fixed like the figure of black antelope on the moon, O Cesava, assuming the forms of a boar: be victorious O Hari, (Vishnu), lord of the universe."‖ A minutely sculptured pillar is seen between the two deer on the face of the *Sinhasan*, which might be taken for a *lingum*, but which the Bauddhas would call a *chaitya*. Its presence here may be accounted for by the fact, long since noticed by Mr. Hodgson that there is a community between the types of the two religions, Saivism and Buddhism, as well as between the things typified; but which I would ascribe rather to orthodox Hinduism being engrafted on the original Bauddha schism. The figures of plates VII and VIII, though doubtful from the variety of symbols present, may be those of the ninth Jaina, or Pushpudanta, whose sign is the *Makara*. ¶ The presence of the elephant, in plate IX, and the recumbent image sculptured in the arched cave, No. II, where all the painted figures of Buddha are of a golden colour, may indicate its connexion with Ajita, the second Jaina. It is doubtful whether these several symbols are meant to distinguish the various forms of Buddha, or are characterestic of the Jain saints; but it clearly appears, from coinciding points in the history of the two religions, that the Bauddhas and Jainas are scions of the same stem, and that they once lived together as people of one religion.**

Professor Heeren is of opinion that the style of modern Hindu architecture takes its origin from the pyramid; but on looking at the general character of this architecture, as developed in the temples erected, throughout the Southern Peninsula, posterior to the twelfth century of our æra, I am rather disposed to conclude, that the model from which they derive their origin is the composite *Deghop* as seen in plate VI. The architecture of the caves is altogether of a monumental kind, possessing much of the colossal grandeur and vastness of the Egyptian style; with which in the general outline it possesses a similarity of design: the shafts of the pillars being cinctured, at intervals, by bands of three or more rings, or decorated, in other respects, by the spaces between the bands being reeded and sculptured with figures. The columns too have rarely any distinct base, and exhibit examples of double capitals, peculiar to Egyptian architecture; the square member of the cave pillars being sculptured with a figure of Buddha, as seen in plate XV, instead of the heads of *Isis* as observable on the sides of the Egyptian capitals.

I. *Cave of Karli.*

This celebrated excavation, situated near the village of Ekvira, and on the western face of a hill, distant about one and a half miles on the left of the road leading from Bombay to Poona, is the finest specimen of a Bauddha cathedral which can be met with. The great cave, excavated in *amygdaloidal trap*, is vaulted. It is in a high state of preservation, about a hundred and twenty feet long by twenty-four broad, and between fifty and sixty feet high, having its roof ribbed by thin boards corresponding to the shape of the vault. A row of pillars, whose capitals are ornamented with elephants, extend down each side of the cave and meet at the further extremity; where there is a stone *Deghop*, surmounted by a wooden um-

* Twenty of the Jain saints are Aikshwakus, or descendants of Ikshwaku, and of the solar race; only two others of them, Manisuvrata and Nemi, being of the race of Hari, or Vishnu, and of a black complexion as was Krishna.

† Hemachandra, the author of the vocabulary, was a Jain, and minister of Kumara Pala, sovereign of Nahrwala Patan, in Gujarat, A. D. 1174. (See translation of the Mirat Ahmadi, page 158.)

‡ See Mr. Colebrooke on the Jains, A. R. Vol. IX. page 305.

§ Prinsep's Jour. A. S. Vol. III. fig. I, Plate XXV.

‖ See Sir William Jones's translation of the Ode. As. Res. Vol. II. Page 119.

¶ The Crocodile of the Indus and Ganges, or *(Gariala Gangetica.)*

** See Mr. Taylor's analysis of the Mackenzie manuscripts, and accounts of the Bauddha rajas written in Tamul. Prinsep's Journal, Vol. VII. p. 121.

brella of an oblong shape. In front of the excavation the rock has been formed into a portico, from which we enter it by door-ways, some of which are now blocked up; and anterior to the whole there are several modern erections, one of which on the right is a small temple dedicated to Bhavani. Within the area of the portico there is a columnar needle, surmounted by lions, and bearing the inscription No. 1. which is a dedication to the sun, and has been strangely misinterpreted by Major Wilford; whose reading of this and of inscription XII. is given in the fifth volume A. R., but which has no resemblance to the original.* On the spectators left and right at entering the portico, there is a recess, where three gigantic Elephants are sculptured, bearing on their necks figures of Buddha; above which the face of the rock is divided into four compartments, each of about eight feet high rising above the other; and in which small models of the original temple, resembling an inverted ship, are sculptured in high relief. Inscription III. is cut on a cornice above the elephants on the left; and on the opposite side, in a similar situation, we meet with inscription X. Two of the three door-ways, which conduct us from the portico to the body of the cave, are now blocked up; and inscription IV. is cut on the rock between the central one and that on the left. On the right are two statutes of a male and female, about six feet in height; over which is inscription VI. The female whose hair is braided has a circular ornament on her forehead; and the male wears a twisted turban. Inscription V. is cut on the rock above No. VI; and below these, over a male and female, we meet with inscription VII. Over the right hand door-way is inscription XI; and above a male and female, near the end of the recess, we find inscription IX. On the fifth and seventh pillars, left hand side of the cave, inscriptions XI. and XII. are found. There are several smaller excavations, or cells for the former attendants of the temple, on the North or left hand side of the great cave.

II. *Caves of Kanari.*

The several excavations, situated on the Island of Salsette, in the vicinity of Bombay, have been well described, by Mr. Salt, in the first volume of the Bombay Literary Society's Transactions. Passing over those near the village of Amboli, the Montpezir cave, and others, which from the Brahmanical character of their sculptures, may be pronounced to be comparatively modern, we proceed to the account of the purely Bauddha caves of Kanari.

The excavations of Kanari, which are situated to the left of the main road leading to Tanna, are distant from Bombay about twenty-two miles, and about four beyond the village of Vihar; at which the pathway to the left turns off from the high road. On leaving the latter village the traveller proceeds, through a thick jungle, along the edge of deep gullies, which are filled with water in the rains; and ascending a small hill, after a distance of three miles, comes into a plain between the hills, where stands the village of Tulsi, in the immediate vicinity of the caves. The road from the latter, as we ascend the hill in which the caves are situated, leads to a platform in front of the great arched one, where are several mounds of masonry; the largest of which was opened by me as before noticed, and in which were found relics and copper plate inscriptions. This is the first stage of ascent to the caves, which consists of six stories, on the ledges of the mountain, connected with each other by footsteps cut in the rock. Proceeding from the south west to the north east, and leaving to the right an unfinished arched excavation and vestibule, where there were two earthen *deghops*, we come to the great cave; in front of which there is a portico, where two lofty columns are seen. One of these on the right is surmounted by lions; and its pedestal, cut into pannels, supports an image of Buddha, seated on the serpent, whose head is overshadowed by five heads of the hooded snake as seen in plate XL. One of the earthen *deghops* was opened by me but no relics were found. In digging however round its foundation a small earthen pot was discovered, which contained a brass serpent and a small baked earthen image of Buddha, bearing an inscription in very minute character. The whole space at the further end of the protico is occupied by the front face of the cave; which is divided, by plain columns, into three square portals beneath, and five open windows above. On the right and left of the portico, in a recess, are two gigantic statues of Buddha. On one of the legs of the left hand statue we meet with a cross and inscription, in Roman letters; which might be taken to be not more ancient than the times of the Portuguese, were it not for the Ethiopic or Arabic term *Abuk*, meaning thy father, being found here; and which accompanied by the date 78, with a resemblance of the cross and the letters for *Kal Buddha*, *Buddha Sakya*, may indicate its connexion with Primitive Christianity; whose spurious doctrines, introduced into India, are supposed, by Wilford, to have given rise to the era of *Shalivahana*, which dates seventy-eight years after Christ. I merely throw out this suggestion here

* See A. R. Vol. V. page 130. It is No. IV of Wilford's inscriptions, and the other is No. III.

for the consideration of others, without attaching much importance to it; and under an impression that this Roman inscription is anterior to the discovery of the passage by the Cape of Good Hope. Certain it is however that Cosmas Indicopleustes found, as he thought, Christian churches at Kalian in the sixth century, but which can be no other than the Bauddha monastic establishment which occupied the caves at this time.

The further extremity of the great arched excavation is occupied by a stone *deghop;* and on the columns in the portico are inscribed X. and XI. of the Kanari inscriptions. Ascending the hill from the platform of the great cave, we come to the second story of excavations, situated south or on the left bank of the nulla, along both sides of which many excavations are found, but of which any detailed account is unnecessary. This second ascent of the hill contains two caves. In the third story there are several excavations and cisterns of water; and the remaining three stories of the ascent is terminated by the open platform at the top of the hill; where there is a circle, from which a small stone *deghop* appears to have been removed. Descending southward from this elevation, the visitor is conducted, along a pathway under the ledge of the rock, from the face of which project several small *deghops*, accompanied by half executed excavations. Here also there are several deep pits, which are built up with burnt bricks, and which appears to have been the burial places of those who inhabited the caves.

The excavations of Kanari would appear to be alluded to in the Foe-kue-ki, or travels of Fa Hian, about A. D. 406; being described as a cavern temple of five stories, each containing numerous chambers or cells; which was situated in the south and the kingdom called Ta-thsen or Dach-chin. The whole are excavated in *trap breccia*.

III. *Caves of Nasik.*

These caves, which are called Pandu Lena, are situated in a part of a conical hill, distant between four and five miles from the town of Nasik. They face about N. E., and are something more than a hundred yards from the base of the hill. In a small recess near the extreme excavations on the right, which are intended for the preservation of water, there are three principal figures of Buddha of the same character and position as may be seen in the Viswakarma cave at Ellora. These idols are accompanied by the lion supporters, and the usual attendents of *Chauri** holders and angels; and are raised on the lotus seat, the stem of which is supported by figures. The entrance to the next cave is by a verandah, raised on six colossal giants, represented in relief, and each bearing on their shoulders a beam. The cave itself which has a flat roof, is about forty-five feet square, and quite unsupported. Small cells are excavated on both sides at the further end, where a *deghop* projects from the wall, and which is ornamented with branched *Chatries*, accompanied by a lion and the *Chakra*. Another cave follows of nearly the same dimensions and form as the one now described; and contains cells of the same construction.

The next excavation is from twenty to thirty feet of similar architecture, and has cells on either side, with a raised platform at the further end in the centre of which is a lingum. The cave which follows in succession has the vaulted roof of pillars on each side, the *deghop* at the further extremity, and a large arched window for light in the front face. Its dimensions may be forty-five feet long by twenty-five broad. The outside of this cave is ornamented with small *deghops* cut in relief.

A flat roofed excavation of about sixty feet by forty follows in succession; in which are cells to the right and left. After passing a small verandah at the further end, where the capitals of the pillars are ornamented with sculptured animals, we come to a recess in which there is a colossal figure of Buddha. There are two other figures in the verandah or vestibule, whose right hands containing the *mala* are held up; and their left ones hold a flower and stem. The principal idol in the cave is called Dharma Rajah. In front of the range of the caves now described there is a good platform; at the left extremity of which notches for the feet cut in the rock conduct the visitor to what is called the *Sutar's* cave, in which there is a recumbent statue of Buddha near a group of smaller figures. Several inscriptions in a large character and of rude execution, are to be met with on the pillars and other parts of the excavations; and the deficiency of ornament in these caves may be taken as a criterion of their antiquity.

IV. *Excavations of Junir.*

The caves of Junir, as described by Professor Orlebar, are situated in two hills; one of which is on the south, and the other on the north, or northwest of the town, and distant about a mile and a half. The

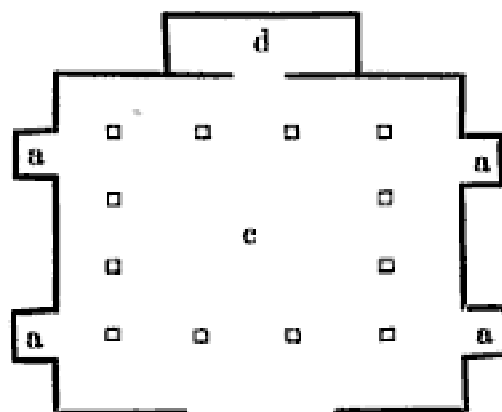
* This is a fly-flapper, made from the tail of the wild ox of Tibet.

southern hill abounds with excavations, most of which are mere cells with a bench at the end, but to each set of which there is one principal temple. The westermost temple of the southern group presents a highly wrought but apparently unfinished front. The circle within the inverted ship, as seen in plate XVI, which is generally open, is closed up by an expanded lotus; in the central petal of which a human figure is represented, accompanied by a closed lotus flower growing at his side, intended probably to represent one of the Bauddha avatars, as the next petal is represented with an elephant standing on the same. The roof of this cave is supported by octagonal pillars; and at the further extremity there is a plain *deghop*. Two principal temples occupy the centre of the excavations found in the southern and northern hills. That of the latter is very perfect, and deserving of particular attention. Its front is a closed circle supported on two pillars and two pilasters; whose capitals are surmounted by pairs of lions and elephants. From a small portico we pass into the body of the temple, which consists of a nave and a semi encompassing aisle. The nave is separated from the aisle by pillars of the same kind as those in the portico, excepting that six of them behind the *deghop* are quite plain. The architecture of all is uniform.

V. — *Caves of Aurangabad.*

These excavations have hitherto met with little attention; and there is not any written notice of them with which I am acquainted. An examination of them, however, may be of use in enabling us to form an opinion of the origin, progress, and migrations of the Bauddha Sectaries; who appear to have exercised, at one time, very considerable influence in India. The caves, which are four in number, are executed in a soft kind of *amygdaloidal rock;* and their sculptures, possessing all the simplicity of design which characterize purely Bauddha structures, are curious as existing in the immediate neighbourhood of the more ornamented and complicated figures at Ellora. They are situated on the southern face of the hills which lie north from Aurangabad; and each assimilates so much in appearance to the other that an account of one would serve, as a description of the whole.

The situation of the more westerly caves is known from a distance by a white shining part on the face of the hill; where the rock in which they have been executed is whitewashed and causes this appearance. Here in a small recess, which only penetrates about eight feet deep into the rock, we meet with a black image, eight feet in height, which is seated, and has the soles of the feet turned upwards. Its hands are joined as if engaged in contemplating the deity; its features are large, its hair curly, and its whole resemblance in short so much allied to that of the African as to have given origin to the opinion of some that Buddhism had an extra Indian origin. Beyond the recess which has been white washed the largest of the caves is situated, but the entrance to it is, in a great measure, hid by an embankment of earth in front; and which was, I believe, removed from the interior, some years ago, by a gentleman anxious to examine the nature of this excavation. There is still a considerable quantity of earth within the body of the cave, and the pillars supporting its roof are more than half buried in it. Its area is about thirty-six feet square, not inclusive of the recess, and an excavated cell is found at each corner, as marked in the accompanying ground plan.



There are twelve square pillars within the area enclosing a space of eighteen feet square, as marked (c); and between each of the pillars, the rock above is cut into a curtain; on which are carved numerous small temples of a pyramidal shape, composed of receding tiers decreasing to the summit similar to what may be seen in drawings of the Boro Budor temples of Java. Images of a man and woman, seated as seen in plate XXXIII. of the *fresco* paintings from Ajanta, are carved within niches of these model tem-

ples. An image of Buddha four feet high, and seated on the *sinhasan*, is sculptured in the recess of the cave. The height of this excavation is twelve feet, and the roof is flat. Its pillars are of a square shape; on each face of which there is a flowered circular ornament, and the representation of a male figure seated in the act of performing *tapasya*, while the figure of a female is leaning towards him, as if endeavouring to divert him from his devotion. The representation of both is altogether similar to that given, by Mr. Crawford, from the temples of Java; and is no doubt intended to shew Buddha in union with his female energy or *sakti;* the *uma* or Parvati of the Brahmans, and the *Kuänyin*, (Kanya,) or virgin of the Chinese.

Beyond the cave just described there is another, smaller and of a different shape. Its recess contains an image of Buddha, at whose left hand several women in a row are represented worshipping on their knees; while on his right hand a group of men similarly employed is represented. Round the body of the temple numerous male figures, carved in *alto relievo*, are to be seen seated on a lotus supported by a high stalk. They are here represented with the soles of their feet turned upwards, but no where in union with the female as in the other temple. Besides these caves, there is an imperfectly executed one, which appears to have been just commenced and then abandoned. Its roof is arched, and ornamented with stone ribs. At the further extremity there is a *dehgop* two or three feet in height.

About a quarter of a mile eastward from this group of caves two others are met with; near which there is an excavated chamber, containing several cells or apartments for the priests, as seen in the smaller excavations attached to the great cave at Karli. The largest of these caves has a recess containing an image of Buddha, and anteriorly is furnished with a verandah thirty-five feet long by eight broad, presenting a front of four square pillars and two pilasters; from which by five doorways we enter the area of the cave. The character of the pillars is the same as before noticed; and at the end of this verandah, and right hand side at entering, there is a representation of a fat male figure seated; over whose neck and arm the *mala*, or necklace, is seen passing, shewing he is engaged in *tapasya*, or devotion. A figure of a woman holding a *chauri* stands on his right; and on his left there is another who supports a child on her left arm. Several other representations of women are seen in these caves; which may have been dedicated to the use of a Bauddha society of nuns, while those more westward were inhabited by the priests.

VI. — *Caves of Mahar, and others belonging to the first class, or Simple Bauddha Structures.*

The two caves at Mahar, in the Konkan, are situated about a mile from the town and close to the ford of the river, on the right hand of the road leading, by Indapur, to Nagotana and Bombay. They are very small and rudely executed, but are distinguished by the two lithographed inscriptions of Plate XXXIX; the first of which appears to record the gift of the relics of Bhagava, (Buddha,) distributed at his funeral pile; an account of which is given by Mr. Turnour, on the authority of *Buddha Ghosa's Atthakatha*, which records the first convocation of the priesthood assembled to explain and determine the fundamental principles of the Bauddha faith. The relic here given was the *Dathadatu*, (tooth relic), an account of which will be found in Prinsep's Journal, and Turnour's translation of the *Mahawanso*.* One of these caves contains a *dehgop*. Besides these purely Bauddha caves, there are those of Baug, in Malwah, described by Captain Dangerfield†; and the excavations of Bamian which may be considered no longer apocryphal, and may be set down as Bauddha structures, if I am allowed to judge from an inspection of M. C. Masson's drawings of the *fresco* paintings, which are found near the heads of the two colossal stone statues of these north-western caves.

VII. — *Excavations of Ajanta.*

These monuments, which I have classed as intermediate between the simple Bauddah caves, and those which have been termed Brahamanical, by Mr. Erskine, are nearly as magnificent and extensive as those of Ellora; which must however be reckoned of later origin, and mark the change of faith among the people of Western India from simple Buddhism to Saivism, and the orthodox system of Hinduism which is now prevalent.

These excavated temples, known by the name of the caves of Ajanta, or the pass, are situated about three miles south westward of the village of *Fardapur*, which lies at the bottom of the *Ghat* leading from Aurangabad into the province of Khandesh. The bed of a mountain torrent, winding through the rocky bottom of a ravine, leads to a deep and narrow dell; where the perpendicular face of the rock may be

* See Prinsep's Journal, Vol. VI. p. 511 and 858; also translation of the Mahawanso, p. 258.

† Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society, Vol. II. p. 194.

between two and three hundred feet in height, at the place where the caves commence. The repeated doublings of the ravine seem to cut off this sequestered spot from all communication with the world; and the dell at its further extremity narrows into a chasm, which is shut out, on either side, by precipices of rock at least a hundred and fifty feet high, where a cascade of seventy or eighty feet, after falling into a deep and capacious bason at the bottom, overflows to form the rocky torrent, just described, which is dry during the months of April and May. The sides of the ravine, where not precipitous, are clothed with wood; and the features of the scenery, if not magnificent, are highly romantic, and have an air of wild solitude peculiarly striking.

The caves are situated in the ravine on the right side, at about one-third of its height; and following the winding course of it, from east westward about a quarter of a mile, describe more than the quarter of a circle. Those which were accessible and visited by me amounted to twenty two; but some new ones have been since discovered. Four of these are arched ones containing the *dehgop*, and the others are flat roofed. To convey a more perfect idea of the whole it will be necessary to describe them individually; and for this purpose begin with the largest cave of all which is nearly central, and from this proceed in a west and east direction numbering them accordingly.

Central Cave.

This which faces to the south, is one hundred feet long, and forty broad. At the opposite end to that by which we enter there is a plain *dehgop* or *chaitya*, very similar to what may be seen at the Karli cave. The body of this erect mass of stone is circularly shaped below terminating in a cupola above. The roof of the cave has been originally supported by thirty-eight octagonal pillars, many of which are now broken. These pillars are twelve feet in height; and after running for some way in a straight row, on the right and left, are disposed in a semicircular form at the further end. From the top of the pillars there rises a plain belt, of eight feet in depth, which runs round the cave, and from this the arched roof takes its origin. The breadth of the cave from pillar to pillar is twenty-four feet; and between the pillars and wall of the area there is a verandah, six feet broad, which has a semicircular roof, and shews the remains of having been at one time finely painted.

The whole was similarly painted in former times, and the drawings were, "ala fresco," on a composition of white calcareous earth and cowdung. The painting on the pillars remains in a tolerable state of preservation, and there are many representations of black and golden Buddhas, seated with the legs crossed, the forefinger and thumb joined as if meditating, and the soles of the feet turned upwards. Their figures are covered with a *shela*, or robe, which is thrown over the left shoulder, leaving only a part of this hand exposed, but the whole of the right shoulder and breast bare. There are also many figures of men and women standing. The former are represented with a dress similar to what is now worn by the Arabs, fitted closely to the neck, and made with loose sleeves opening at, and hanging from, the elbow; and the latter, whose hair is curly, and gathered into a knot at the crown of the head, have a loose sheet thrown over the left shoulder leaving the right breast exposed; as commonly seen among females in the south of India. The features of both, however, are generally similar to those of the people in Southern India; and, in some instances, nearly resemble those of Arabs or Abyssinians.

Entering the cave we see, on the left east side, two standing images of Buddha cut from the rock. The uppermost of these is covered by a robe which reaches nearly to the ankle, the lower one is naked. Near them are several small figures seated, appearing in the act of performing *tapasya*.

No. 1. West.

Immediately on the west of the large central cave there is a small flat roofed one, with a verandah in front. The roof, which is twelve feet high, is supported by four clumsy square pillars. This excavation which has several "dookans," or cells formed in the wall of the area, is thirty-eight feet long and twenty-eight broad. At the further extremity, from where we enter there is an image of Buddha in a recess. This figure is seated on a *sinhasan*, or throne, on the face of which are sculptured figures of an ape and two goats. The image has no robe and has been once painted red.

No. 2. West.

This is a low flat roofed excavation; from which seven doors lead through the wall of its area to as many dookans or cells. There are no images in this cave.

No. 3. West.

This, which is nearly closed up by the fall of earth from above, has a figure of Buddha over the door way.

No. 4. West.

This is another flat roofed excavation, of which the length is sixty-four feet, and the breadth sixty-two. The roof which is fourteen feet high is supported by twenty pillars. In front there is a broad verandah, communicating with the cave by a large doorway and a window on each side of it. The stone of the verandah roof is cut into large projecting beams, and Garura is sculptured, at both ends, as a dwarfish fat man, with hair like a wig, supporting on his back the whole. The rock has been cut so as to project considerably in front of this verandah, below which projection at the west end there is a long inscription, consisting of several lines, but so weather worn in many parts as to be unintelligible to sight. As much as could be copied with any degree of certainty is given in inscriptions No. 3, and 4, Plate XLVIII. the former being the beginning of it and the latter the right hand side from the 11th line downwards. It would have been impossible to have obtained a fac-simile on account of the roughness of the stone.

In the recess there is an image of Buddha, of which the feet touch the ground. Its height when seated on the sinhasan is about six feet. On the face of the throne there is an animal, which may either be a rhinoceros or wild cow, represented to the right and left. This image is naked, and the sign on the throne appears to be that of a buffalo or wild cow. The image has been painted red.

No. 5. West.

This is a very fine cave, and little injured by time. The area is sixty-four feet by sixty-two; and the roof, which is elevated twelve feet, is supported by twenty pillars. It has a broad verandah in front; at the west end of which, and on the left of the spectator, there is an inscription disposed in twenty-nine lines, occupying a space on the rock of four feet long and three broad. It is written in what may be termed the Pali character of Sanscrit, which is used in some of the copper plate grants of land found sometimes on the West of India. The right hand or innerside of the inscription has been nearly obliterated by the weather and the dripping of water from the rock above. The same end of the verandah contains a circular "al fresco" painting; which is divided into compartments, by radii from a centre, and represents people variously employed. Some are carrying loads; some are seated and conversing with one another under square shaded canopies, that have all the resemblance of Chinese booths. The people who are so employed are either of a black or copper colour; but all of them are represented with wooly hair, which is cut short, and rounded on the neck like that of Europeans. This like many of the other paintings, which once adorned this verandah, has been much injured by the endeavors of visitors to remove part from the wall, and will be soon entirely destroyed. In the remains of these paintings we see women, with dark complexions, and features similar to those now observable among the natives of the south of India. They are adorned with fillets of flowers, that bind back their hair; and in some instances, servants are carrying umbrellas, over couples of men and women promenading, in the manner represented in Chinese drawings. Several black and golden Buddhas are painted above the door-way leading from the verandah to the cave; and, on the face of the throne, supporting the image in the recess, there are two antelopes sculptured. The image is without a robe.

No. 6. West.

This, which is a small arched cave, contains a *dehgop* Plate VI. somewhat different from the one in the larger arched cave. Its upper part is a rounded pyramid, surmounted by a vase, or guglet shaped ornament, which is the symbol of *Malli* or the 19th Jaina. On the lower part of the *dehgop*, and in front, there is an image sculptured, in a standing posture and below a semicircular shaped canopy, whose left hand is supporting the ends of his robe thrown over this shoulder. There are other small images, or tiny Buddhas, sculptured on this *dehgop*, and are in a sitting posture with the soles of the feet turned upwards. The Buddhas that are here painted, "al fresco," are of a golden or green colour.

No. 7. West.

This is a small cave, in which there is much carving on the portico of the recess. The image in the recess appears to have been painted either of a red or golden colour; and on the throne where it is seated two antelopes are sculptured. The antelope is the symbol of *Santi* the 16th Jaina saint.

No. 8. West.

After passing No. 7. the visitor is obliged to descend; there being no continued foot path, by which he can get at the remainder of the Western caves. By means of a steep and difficult pathway he reaches these, however; and is first conducted to a fine arched cave, which will presently be described, but which, reckoned westward, in order, will form the eleventh of the series.

The cave here numbered contains water, and is much obscured for want of light. The pillars that support the roof are rounded and ornamented; and in the recess there is a cross legged image of Buddha.

No. 9. West.

This is a small cave, where the image is sculptured with the feet touching the ground, and resting on a lotus supported by two deer. The colour of the image appears to have been red; and on the right and left men and women are represented kneeling as in prayer. This is similar to the group found in one of the caves at Aurangabad, where all the Buddhas are seated on the lotus; from which symbol we might conjecture that the saint here worshipped was *Padmaprabha.*

No. 10. West.

Is a large cave containing round ornamented pillars. It is filled with water, and contains no image, from which we may conclude it was not used as a temple but a school.

No. 11. West.

Is a finely arched cave, fifty-two feet long by eighteen broad within the pillars; which, though not uniform in shape, are generally round, and have an elaborately ornamented shaft and capital. There is a similar belt, between the capitals of the pillars and the spring of the arched roof, as has been described to run round the upper part of the large central cave. Instead of being plain, however, it is here sculptured with numerous images of Buddha seated with the legs crossed, and placed in niches. A verandah, six feet wide between the outer side of the pillars and wall of the area, runs round the cave on each side; and here many images are sculptured on the wall. One of these, on the spectator's left, is a gigantic figure of Buddha lying asleep, Plate IX, that measures twenty-three feet, and is named Bheem by the natives. At the entrance of the cave, which from the turning of the nullah at this part, faces easterly, there are two standing images of Buddha, to the right and left of the spectator. These images, which are about twelve feet high, are represented with a *shela* or robe descending from the left shoulder to the ankle, so as to leave the right breast exposed. Below the feet of the one on the left is a deeply cut inscription, No. 1, Plate XLVIII.

The extreme end contains the *chaitya** which is different from either of those that have been described. The lower portion of it is sculptured with standing images two feet high, whose robes descending to the ankle are supported over the left shoulder as in the other large figures represented at the entrance; but on the face of it looking to the front of the cave, a pyramidal shaped canopy, of two stories, is sculptured, and over-hangs numerous standing figures and diminutive faces of Buddha; while, in other places, men and women seated in pairs are represented within small niches. Beneath this canopy, which is very similar to one represented by Mr. Crawford, from the temple of Boro Budor in Java, there is also a large image placed in a sitting posture, with the feet touching the ground.

The greater part of the cave has been at one time beautifully enamelled; and the Buddhas represented, "al fresco," are painted of a yellow colour. It would appear to have been held in great reverence; there being cells for the priests on each side of it.

Having thus described the caves westward from the central arched cave, I now give a detailed account of those which run eastward of it.

No. 1. East.

This, which is only a few paces east from the large one, is an arched cave forty-five feet long and thirteen feet broad from pillar to pillar. The pillars which are octagonal are disposed in an ellipsis; and between their exterior face and the area of the cave there is a flat roofed verandah three and a half feet in breadth. This cave contains a *dehgop* similar to the one in the large centrical one described; and its floor descends considerably below the level of the ground on which the observer is standing. The face of

* The chaityas of Nepal are either simple or composite; but the genuine one is, according to Mr. Hodgson, a solid structure exclusively appropriated to the *Dhyani*, or, celestial Buddhas, whose images are placed in niches around the base of the hemisphere, which is the essential part of the structure. In niches of the hemisphere four of the five *Dhyani* Buddhas are enshrined, one being placed opposite to each cardinal point, as seen in the *chaitya* which is represented in plate VI of the Ajanta drawings. Mr. Hodgson tells us that *Akshobhya Buddha* occupies the eastern nich; *Ratna Sambhâva*, the southern; *Amitaba*, the western, and *Amoghasiddha*, the northern. *Vairochana*, the first *Dhyani Buddha*, is supposed to occupy the centre, invisibly. *Manushi* or mortal Buddhas, and *Manushi Bodhisatwas*, and *Lokishwaras*, with their *Saktis*, or female energies, are generally placed in temples less sacred than the chaityas. One of the latter may be seen in plate XII, of the Ajanta drawings. See Prinsep's Journal, Vol. v. p. 81, and Quarterly Oriental Review, Vol. viii. p. 255.

the rock, between the two caves, is sculptured with images of Buddha sitting on a *sinhásan*, whose feet are represented touching the ground. The paintings in this cave are of a golden colour.

No. 2. East.

This which is only a few yards eastward, is a half executed excavation.

No. 3. East.

To this cave, which is flat roofed, there is a considerable ascent. It has a double verandah in front; and from the area of it several narrow doors, about four feet high, lead to *dukans* or cells. From the area we enter the recess by a door nine feet high and four broad. Here there is a statue of Buddha seated on a *sinhasan*, on the face of which two deer or goats are sculptured. The height of the image is eight feet, and it is surrounded by several standing images of inferior height, clad in robes which reach the ankle. These smaller images appear to be the attendants of the larger one. Both on the outer and inner wall of this recess many such images are seen, seated as if worshipping the larger statue. There is a gradual rise in the several apartments of the roof, from the verandah to the recess of this cave. The whole has been at one time painted. If the image of the recess be meant for a *Jaina*, it must be *Kunthi* who has the goat for his sign.

No. 4. East.

This cave, to which we ascend by a few steps, consists of two stories; of which the lower area measures fifty feet, and has its roof supported by twelve octagonal pillars, and five pilasters, both on the east and west sides. In front of the recess, where there is an image similar to the one in No. 3. there are two ornamented pillars; and from the area of this cave several narrow door-ways lead to excavated cells. The height of the roof is ten or eleven feet, but the same could not be precisely ascertained, as the cave contained a considerable quantity of water. The image in the recess is represented covered by a robe. Ascending by steps, which are broken, to the upper story, we come to a magnificent cave, having a portico and verandah in front; from which we enter by a door-way, eight feet high and four broad. The roof is supported by twelve octagonal pillars, differing in shape from most of those in the other caves. They have a square base, and a projecting triangularly shaped capital. The height of each pillar is eleven and a half feet; and, as the rock from the capital of pillar to pillar is sculptured into a curtain eight inches deep, the height of this cave must be something more than twelve feet. The area within the pillars is twenty-nine feet square; and from their exterior face a verandah, six feet broad, runs round the whole. Besides the small cells usually leading from the area of the caves, there are several larger recesses excavated in the wall of this one; of which each has a portico supported by two pillars fluted at the upper part of the shaft, which is circular. The recess for the image in this cave has a similar portico. The image, which is naked, is seated on a *sinhásan;* on the face of which either two goats or antelopes are sculptured. The face of the wall in the verandah supports several images of Buddha, whose feet touch the ground, while the fore finger and thumb are joined together. As the large image in the recess of the lower cave is represented with a robe, and that in the upper without one, it is probable that the two caves belonged to the two different sects of Bauddhas, or the *Swetámbara* and *Digambara Jains*. I have said Jains or Bauddhas; for if we may judge from the Indian excavations, we must conclude that the origin of the Jaina form of Buddhism, or that which retains part of the Brahmanical mythology and distinction of cast, preceded the more complete schism, which is now prevalent in Burmah.

No. 5. East.

Is nearly filled up with earth, and appears to have been similarly executed as the other flat roofed excavations.

No. 6. East.

Is a larger cave than either of the others and is flat roofed. Its outer area is eighty feet square, and its inner, within twenty eight pillars, forms a square of fifty-six feet. There is a verandah in front; and several small door-ways lead from the cave to excavated cells. The pillars, which are octagonal, have a triangularly shaped capital; above which the rock is cut into a curtain of about six feet high: and as the whole height of the cave is sixteen feet, the shaft of the pillars will be therefore about ten feet high. In the recess there is an image of Buddha which is naked; and the other images, which are not numerous in this cave, are represented with their feet touching the lotus.

No. 7. East.

This which is a flat roofed cave, has a front verandah sixty-six feet long by eight broad; from which we enter the area of the cave by a door-way nearly ten feet in height by four broad. The image in this cave, which is clothed, is distinguished by the symbol of an antelope.

No. 8. East.

Is a cave which has a beautifully painted roof, from which the specimens of the panels in plate XIX were taken. This excavation, at the period of my visit, was likely to be closed up by the descent of earth from above; but it has since, I believe, been made accessible by the removal of the fallen earth. The image in the recess had two antelopes or goats as supporters. In addition to the caves now described, there was one more to the westward, which was not accessible to me, making the whole number twenty-two; and which have been added to by later discoveries.

VIII. — *Caves of Ellora.*

These magnificent monuments, belonging as I said, to the second class of excavations, would require little farther description than what has been given of them by Sir Charles Mallet, and Colonel Sykes, * had not both authors left doubtful many points regarding the sculptured figures, and the opinions of the sectaries who worshipped them. Some proof too of the justness of my expressed belief, that the sculptures of *Ellora* illustrate *Tantrika* † principles engrafted on Buddhism, will be required of me; and an analysis of the character of the several sculptures, in reference to the established representations of well known Hindu divinities, worshipped by various sectaries, will tend to correct, or confirm, opinions previously given on this subject. Anticipating but part of what must be said, in subsequent chapters, on the theological and metaphysical ideas of the *Bauddha* and *Jaina* sectaries, apart from their ritual and mythology, it will be here necessary to make some preliminary observations regarding points of doctrine wherein they agree, or on which they differ; so that we may refer any religious sculpture to these particular sects, or appropriate others of them, which cannot be so tested, to heterodox *Brahmanical* sectaries, entertaining analogous philosophical opinions, but with a different mythology and ritual.

These two heterodox sectaries agree in placing within the limits of South Bahar, and its immediate vicinity, the locality of the death and apotheosis of the last *Buddha*, and of the last *Jina*; disavow the *vedas*, and deities of the Hindu Pantheon; lived originally in a state of celibacy in religious societies, or monasteries, as we learn from the fables of the *Pancha Tantra*; ‡ select their priests from among the children of all branches of the community; have preserved for their sacred language the *Pali* or *Prakrit*, a dialect closely resembling the *Magadhi* or vernacular tongue of South Bahar; have nearly the same traditional chronology for the origin of the two sects; do not eat after sunset, and sweep the spot on which they sit down from their regard for the preservation of animal life. Both sects agree too in holding the doctrine of

* See Asiatic Researches, Vol vi. P. 391; and Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society, Vol III p. 265.

† The *Sakta form* of Hinduism is that from which the principles of the *Tantrika system* are derived: and which consists of religious worship of *Siva* and *Durga*, (*Devi, or the goddess,*) with charms and incantations, or *Mantras*. The rites of this worship are consecrated by certain mystical formulæ for the attainment of superhuman power, and are of two kinds; one pure, the other impure. In the former, such offerings are made as are usual for other deities; in the latter, blood, flesh, and spirituous liquors are placed among the proper offerings to the goddess. Colonel Vans Kennedy, in his observations on Professor H. Wilson's theory respecting the Puranas, restricts the *Tantrika* system to the latter ritual.

‡ See analytical account of the Pancha Tantra, by H. H. Wilson, Transactions R. A. S. Vol. I. p. 133. Professor Wilson, in a note on the worship of the *Padmanidhi*, or of the nine divine treasures, (*which according to the Tantrika systems, are personified and worshipped as demigods attendant on Kuvera, the god of wealth, and Lakshmi, the goddess of prosperity,*) observes, " let the votary adore the *Padmanidhi*, placed with his wife upon the left hand of the goddess: both of the colour of minium, each in the other's embrace, and either holding a red lotus and a blue one: both employed in raining jewels, and either wearing a lotus as a crest, the male *Padmanidhi* corpulent, the female slender." This worship, which appears to have been practiced by the *Bauddhas*, and early *Jaina Sectaries*, is seen illustrated in the drawings from Ajanta. The Pancha Tantra, which is the original of the fables of Bidpai, or Pilpay, and was first translated from Sanskrit into Arabic, and called the *Kalila Damana*, was carried from India, as Masudi tells us, about A. D. 550; when Naosherwan, the king of Persia, having advanced against *Balkh* and *Khatlan*, killed *Akshawas* king of the *Hayatelahs* or *Ephthalites*; who, during the reign of the Roman Emperor Theodosius II, and nearly a hundred years earlier than Naosherwan, are mentioned by the historian Procopius as inhabiting the Northern borders of Persia, and known by the name of white Huns. Unlike the other branches of the Huns they were neither wanderers in the deserts, nor were uncivilized; but had a well organized society among themselves and were subject to kings. The Jaina Sectaries, originally nearly allied to the Bauddhas, were therefore in existence at this time; but had not yet introduced the worship of the twenty-four *Tirthankaras*, which would appear to be a more modern innovation.

eternal atoms, which are the elements, earth, water, fire, and air; and which become the world's cause when in a state of aggregation, and of its dissolution when universally separated. This opinion they maintain in common with the *Vaiseshika* school of Hindú philosophy, of which *Kanada* is the author; and which is controverted by the more orthodox opinions of the *vedantins* or the followers of *Mimansa* philosophy.* Though this information regarding their early opinions is obtained from the controversial disquisitions of their Brahmanical adversaries, it is essentially correct; and such opinions are perhaps more original than those now prevailing among the Bauddhas of Nepal; who, according to Mr. Hodgson, admit the *Pancha Bhuta* or five elements, of which the five *Dhyani* or celestial Buddhas are personifications.† The Nepalese also admit *Manasa* and *Dharma*, i. e. the sentient principle and condition of merit, as the sixth *Dhyani Budha*, ‡ but as these last do not appear to have been admitted by the earlier Bauddha sectaries in India; nor were such opinions mixed up with *Saiva* and *Sakta* ritual as in Nepal, until a later period, we should be cautious in drawing the inference that such were parts of original practical Buddhism; and the conclusion seems more rational that such *Tantra* rites and symbols were grafted on Bauddha speculation, as was the case we know with the *Gyut*, the seventh and last portion of the *Kah-Gyur* or great scriptural collection of Tibet. The first volume of this portion was introduced from the north, it is said, into India, during the tenth century, and into Tibet during the eleventh. §

The five *Dhyani Buddhas*, who are recognized in the Tibetan books, produced five *Bodhisatwas*, who are the immediate agents of creation; and each in his turn having become *Sarvaguna*, invested with three qualities, produced all things by his fiat.‖ These creations are perishable, and three of them have already passed away. The present world is considered as the work of the fourth *Bodhisatwa*, who is *Padma Pani*, and now lord of the ascendant.

Besides these metaphorical personifications, or *Buddhas* who sprang divinely, some from *Akas* (æther) and some from the *lotus*; there are seven other Buddhas who are produced generatively, and therefore called *Manushi* or mortal Buddhas; who in their successive mortal advents reached different degrees of perfectibility till they attained the transcendental glory of a *Tathagata*, ¶ and relief from further transmigration, in a state of *nirvritti*, or eternal rest. These seven, which are specified in *Hemachandra* ** vocabulary are named *Vipasyi*, *Sikhi*, *Viswabhu*, *Kakutsanda*, *Kanakamuni*, *Kasyapa*, and *Sakyasinha*. The three first, though not commonly mentioned, are universally recognized in Tibet, †† Ceylon, and to the eastward; and the last, who is the same as *Gautama*, the son of *Suddhodana* king of *Kosola* or Oude, is author of the system which has came down to us. He is the last of the terrestrial Buddhas yet come, who by *dhyan* (abstraction), and *tapas*, (mortification), from man became god, and is the now universally revered *tathagata* in Ceylon, Burmah, Siam, Ava, Tibet and other countries where Buddhism prevails. He entered on his divine mission, B. C. 588, in the fifteenth year of the reign of Vimbasara ‡‡ king of *Magadha*; and died B. C. 543, in the eighth year of the reign of *Ajatasatto*, (Ajatasatru) the son and successor of the preceding monarch.

The incarnations of Gautama, prior to his last advent, which are five hundred and fifty, and called his *Jatakas* §§ are embodied in the Bauddha scriptures, and held up to his followers as lessons of the divine perfectibility of his moral character. Some of these seem to form the subject of the Ajanta fresco paintings; and plate XXII represents one of Gautama's contests with the evil principle, or *Asuras*; whom, in his character of *Sakko*, or Indra, he had ejected from the heaven of the *Devatas*. The rebellious demons are either here attempting as before mentioned, to obtain the daughter of their chief, or are climbing up the mountain *Maha-Meru*, in order to regain their lost abode: but are driven back by darts from the *Chakra vilala*, the discus framed by *Viswakarma*, the architect of the gods. Plate XXIII would appear to be part of his incarnation as a hunter; in which character Gautama converted to his creed, *Asiratanam* Raja, who

* See Mr. Colebrooke on the heretical systems of Hindu Philosophy: Trans: R. A. S. Vol. I. p. 556.

† Hodgson's quotations from original Sanskrit authorities on Buddhism: Prinsep's Journal Vol. V. p. 76.

‡ The Tibetans also admit the existence of six elements; and the second portion of the Kah-gyur called the Sher-chin, addressed to the philosophers, names them earth, water, fire, air, ether, and spirit, or intellect. Prinsep's Journal, Vol. I. p. 377.

§ See Analysis of the Kah-Gyur, by H. H. Wilson. Journal A. S. Vol. I. p. 380.

‖ Notices of different systems of Buddhism from Tibetan authorities; and Hodgson's quotations, Journal A. S. Vol VII. p. 143, and Vol. V. p. 76.

¶ The doctrine of the metempsychosis is a scheme of purification embracing rewards and punishments; and the title *Tathagata*, from *tatha*, thus, and *gata*, gone, means an exemption from future reproduction: mortal birth having closed, and *nirvritti*, eternal repose, and the perfection of knowledge being attained.

** Colebroke's Observations on the Jains, As. Res. Vol IX. p. 303.

†† Analysis of the Kah-gyur, Prinsep's Journal, Vol. I. p. 380.

‡‡ The same as Bimbisaro of the Ceylon Annals, and the *Srenika Maharaja* of the Jains. See Prinsep's Journal, Vol. I. p. 2.

§§ In Nepal, according to Mr Hodgson, his incarnations are five hundred and one. An account of them is written in the Sanskrit scriptures of that province called the *Jataka Mala*, and *Lalita Vistara*. In Ceylon, however, his incarnations are enumerated as stated in the text. See T. A. S. Vol. II. p. 244, and Upham on Ceylon Buddhism: p. 27.

had been an enemy to the Bauddha religion, and addicted to a sinful life by killing animals and committing acts of violence. Plate XXV is also probably part of his Jataka as *Wessantaro Raja;* in which character Gautama was beloved by his subjects for many virtues, celebrated for acts of charity and humility, so that when the Brahmans of Kalinga came to him, and requested his white elephant, to procure a fall of rain and avert famine from the kingdom, he alighted from the royal animal and delivered it up against the entreaties and amidst the murmurs of his attendants.* The Buddhas therefore mentioned in the scriptures are innumerable; but many of them are nonentities in regard to history.

The five *Dhyani Buddhas* who are of divine origin are quiescent, while the active work of creation devolves on their *Bodhisatwas.* In this *theistical* system of Buddhism, which acknowledges the first intellectual essence as *Adi Buddha,* (the supreme,) the fourth *Bodhisatwa, Padma Pani,* called in Nepal *Avalokeswara,* is made to assume the form of the three qualities of *goodness, passion,* and *darkness,* for the creation of *Brahma, Vishnu,* and *Maheswara* † It recognizes, as would appear, the separate existence of mind and matter; and respects more the speculations of Bauddha philosophy, on the origin of the world and the nature of a first cause, than it regards opinions of the nature and destiny of the human soul; which belong more to exoteric Buddhism, and arose with the earlier or atheistical system acknowledging matter as the sole entity, and giving it two modalities, or states of being; one called *nirvritti* or quiescence, the other *pravritti* or energy and change; while an eternal revolution of matter, held to be the system of the world, subjects it with all other palpable forms to alternate periods of decay and regeneration. One division of the theistical followers of Buddhism admits only one immaterial cause of all things, the essence of *pravritti* and *nirvritti,* closely conforming in this respect to the Brahmanical followers of the *uttara mimansa,* or vedanta philosophy; while another considers matter and mind to form a *biunity,* in a state of *nirvritti* or quiescence.‡ By the former the self-existent *Divinity* is thought to be one with all things, and separate from all things; by the latter, as the unity of mind and matter, he is said to be the real originator of the universe, but is, by either theory, in a state of perpetual repose, without the attributes of providence and dominion; while the functions of creating, preserving, and destroying the visible world devolve on the *Bodhisatwas,* or on the *triad;* which, as in Nepal, is found in the Buddhism of the sculptured caves at Elephanta and Ellora, and appears to represent this religion modified in India, previous to its introduction into the former country.

The triad of Nepal however consists of *Brahma, Vishnu,* and *Maheswara;* while the sculptured bust at Ellora § evidently representing a female ‖ on the left, indicates that it is the *Bauddha triad* of the *modified atheistical* system, called *Prajnika Swabhavika,* where *Dharma,* or deified Nature, is the *first* member; *Buddha,* as the representation of nature's energy emanating from matter, the *second;* and *Sangha,* or union, the *third.* ¶ In the exoteric, or vulgar system of the theistical creed, in which *prajna,* or the conceptive power of matter, is for the purposes of creation made to exist biunely with mind, female energies or *Saktis* are linked to the Dhyani Buddhas; but in the above modified *atheistical* system, though the power of inert matter be also typified as a goddess, neither this nor the primitive *theistical* one of intellectual essences admit of *Saktis* being united to the celestical Buddhas.**

The *primitive atheistical,* called the simple *Swabhavika* doctrine, altogether denies immateriality, and asserts that matter is the sole substance, subject to its own laws, inherent in itself, and giving rise to spontaneous creation. It does not, as Mr. Hodgson says, admit of a *triad;* which, as he justly concludes, appears to be foreign to *primitive Buddhism* on the west of India, and is no where met with among the sculptures in the first class of caves already described.

Regarding the destiny of the human soul, and the motives for doing well, the object of all these doctrines is, by abstinence and abstraction, to enlarge the mind from finity to infinity; to acquire *spiritual knowledge,* so as to be able to discriminate *soul* from *nature,* and thus obtain liberation from matter and the punishment of transmigration for sin committed; and finally to obtain *emanation* and happiness, in a

* Upham's History of Buddhism, p. 29—40.

† See Mr. B. H. Hodgson's Sketch of Buddhism, and answer to question XIV. in the Transactions R. A. S. Vol, II. p. 242.

‡ Mr. Hodgson's alterations in the Notes appended to his Sketch, and note 2 substituted for the one first published: See Appendix No. V. Transactions R. A. S. Vol. II. p. LXXX.

§ See Col. Sykes' representation of the *triad,* in his account of the caves of Ellora. Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society, Vol. III.

‖ See Col. Sykes' on the three faced-busts in the cave temples of Elephanta and Ellora. Journal R. A. S. Vol. V. p. 81.

¶ The *Bauddha triad* is usually named the *Tri Ratna* or three jewels; but the followers of this religion differ in their conceptions of the relative rank of the three persons composing it. According to the purely theistical theory, Buddha, as the male energy and symbol of generative power, is the first member; but in the modified theistical one, where *prajna,* or *Diva natura* is united to intellect, *Dharma,* the type of productive power, is placed first. In both systems, however, *Sangha* or union is called the Son of the two former, and represents actual creative power. See Mr. Hodgson's Notes on his Sketch of Buddhism.

** Notice of Buddha tracts from Nepal by Professor H. H. Wilson. Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVI. p. 458.

state of union and quiescence, with the first cause of all things and the source from whence they come. It is thus that the religion has been made conformable to the opinions of cosmogony maintained by its philosophical sectaries; and respecting generative creation it acknowledges the tenet that the seven mortal or *Manushi Buddhas* are emanations of the first cause, and have obtained plenary omnipotence, or divinity, by their re-union with the same, and become *Tathagatas.*

The leading points of agreement, between *Bauddhas* and *Jainas*, both in regard to their opinions and history, have been enumerated; and those in which they differ may be now noticed. The latter have not, like the *Bauddhas*, any veneration for relics; have elevated to divine supremacy twenty-four *Tirthankaras*, the spiritual successors of *Sudharma Swami*, called the cotemporary of *Indra Bhuti*, who is the same as *Gautama*, have adopted, in the South of India, the division of caste, though the practice regarding this, in the northeast, is not general; worship *Rishaba* as the first *Tirthankara*, the same probably as Rishaba of the *Sri Bhagavat*; * do not live in monastic establishments, but have priests called *Jatis*; and admit the whole of the Hindu gods into their system, making them subordinate to their own Saints. This last perhaps can be scarcely considered a subject of disagreement, as the theistical Buddhism of Nepal seems to admit of similar adoption. They give not like the Hindus any preference to a particular deity of this system; and acknowledge sixty-four *Indras* and twenty-four *Devis.* †

Like the *Bauddhas* and *Jainas* the metaphysical and theological opinions of the *Brahmans* constitute the essence of their religion; and the universe is consequently subjected to decay and regeneration, at the end of cycles of great duration, called *yugas*; when the *triad* and all the gods cease to exist, and there is nothing left but the great first cause in the midst of infinite space. The universe, in the opinion of of the orthodox, ‡ is but an emanation from the essence of the deity; so that all palpable forms, which are but parts of him, become legitimate objects of worship, and give origin to the *pantheism*, or numerous gods of the *Brahmanical* system. According to the best authorities, the present state of the Hindu religion is of comparatively recent origin, and is distinguished by inculcating faith in a particular divinity, as the mean of obtaining purification from sin and transmigration. In this, as in the *Bauddha* and *Jaina* religion, the ultimate object is to obtain a state of perfect apathy, or quiescence, through the practice of abstraction and mortification; which are, however, considered less efficacious in conducting frail mortality to the realms of felicity than belief in particular deities, among whom the most commonly worshipped are *Vishnu*, *Siva*, and *Devi*, who give name to the three principal sects, the *Vaishnavas*, the *Saivas*, and the *Saktas*. Several differences of opinion exist among the three leading divisions of these sectaries; and the *Pancharatras* or *Bhagavatas*, as worshippers of *Vishnu*, with the *Pasupatas* or *Maheswaras* the devotees of *Siva*, both in their doctrines and practice are nearly allied to the *Bauddhas* and *Jainas*. The *Maheswaras* indeed seem to have borrowed much of their doctrine from the atheistical system of the *Sankhya* philosophy, in which we see reflected the earliest *Bauddha* tenets; while they have adopted more of the theistical system of the same philosophy, or school of Patanjali.§ They hold that *Iswara*, the supreme being, is the efficient, though not the material, cause of the world; and is at once its creator and superintending ruling providence: thus conforming in their opinions to the Bauddha theistical system of Nepal, in all except the admission of a ruling providence. By the tenets of the *Maheswaras* it is taught that *Yoga*, or abstraction in penance, with enjoined rites, and meritorious acts of enthusiasm, which overjoy or carry the sectary beside himself, are the means of obtaining final liberation, *(Moksha,)* and deliverance from evil, *(Dukhanta).* Four divisions of these sectaries are known: of which the *Pasupatas*, as followers of *Pasupati*, another title for *Maheswara*, and the *Kapalas*, as wearers of the *skull necklace*, are celebrated, and mentioned by the *Sri Bhagavata* as associates of the Bauddha sectaries.‖ The

* There are two works under this name; one the *Sri Bhagavata* is dedicated to faith in Vishnu, and the other the *Devi Bhagavata* is a *Saiva* composition. The latter is thought to be the genuine *purana*, and the other the product of uninspired erudition, ascribed to *Vopadeva* the grammarian, who lived sometime about the twelfth century, and at the Court of a Raja of Deogarh, or Daulatabad. See Translation of the Vishnu Purana, by H. H. Wilson, Preface p. XXXI.

† Major Delamaine on the Jains. Trans. R. A. S. Vol. I. p. 422.

‡ Individual souls emanating from the supreme one, are likened to innumerable sparks issuing from a blazing fire. From him they proceed and to him they return, being of the same essence. Mr. Colebrooke on the Vedanta: Trans. R. A. S. Vol. II. p. 35.

§ Mr. Colebrooke on the Philosophy of Indian Sectaries. Trans. R. A. S. Vol. I. p. 569.

‖ The probable date of this *Purana* has been mentioned in a previous note; and in the fourth *Khanda* of it, translated by Mr. Taylor from the Tamil, it is mentioned, that when *Indra* was about to lose his throne to *Prithu*, who purposed to perform a hundred *aswamedha yagas* (horse sacrifices,) and had successfully completed ninety-nine, *Indra* assuming the garb of a *Sannyasi*, (ascetic,) the same as worn by the *Kapalis*, *Bauddhas*, and *Pashandas*, stole the hundredth horse. See 4th Report on the Mackenzie MSS. by the Rev. W. Taylor, Madras Journal of Literature and Science. No. 21. p. 225.

principal point of opinion in which the *Maheswaras* are deemed heretical, by the orthodox, is that creation of the universe by the deity out of his own essence and pantheism are not admitted.

The *Pancharatras* or *Bhagavatas*, as the special worshippers of *Vishnu*, identify him with *Vasudeva*, or *Bhagavata*, the supreme being; considered to be the omniscient first principle, which is at once the efficient and material cause of the universe, and likewise its superintending and ruling providence. From this Being dividing himself into four persons, immediately sprung *Sankarshana*, identified with the living soul, from whom came *Pradyumna*, (he who agitates all,) called by the *Manmatha Charitra*, an incarnation of the god of love *Manmatha*, (he who agitates the mind,) the son of *Krishna* and *Rukmini*;* but who is according to this sect the same with mind, (*Manas*), and sprung from *Sankarshana*, (*Baladeva*.) In the mythology of the more orthodox *Vaishnavas*, *Vasudeva* is *Krishna*; *Sankarshana* his brother, *Balarama*; and *Pradyumna* his son, *Kama*,† or *Cupid*; whose symbol is the *Makara*‡, (or Indian crocodile,) identifying him in some degree with the sitting statues of *Buddha* at *Ajanta*, and which identification is made more certain by one of the inscriptions, from the same place, which is found below the feet of a colossal standing statue of *Buddha Sakya*.

The preceding observations will enable us I hope, to accurately analyse the character of the various sculptures met with in three separate classes of excavations, at Ellora, called the northern, middle, and southern. The first range consisting of the *Adi-natha*, *Jaggannatha*, *Parishrama* and *Indra Sabhas*, with some minor excavations now nearly filled up with earth, have been called *Bauddha* or *Jaina*, by Mr. Erskine. To these succeed the *Dumar-lena*, *Jan-wassa*, *Kumarwara*, *Ghana*, *Nilkantha*, *Rameswara*, *Kailas*, *Das-Avatar*, and *Rikh-Ravan*; which have been thought Brahmanical works, and belonging to this religion. The last or southern range, consisting of the *Tin-loka* or *Tin-tala*, the *Do-tala* or *Dukhyaghar*, *Viswakarma*, and the group of caves, called *Dehreh-wara*, are purely Bauddha ones, and similar to those of *Kanari* and *Karli*.

Northern Excavations.

The caves of Ellora, placed among the most wonderful monuments of human art and industry, occupy generally the western face of a hilly basaltic range, that stretches for nearly a mile and a half from N. E. to S. W.; above which lies the table land of Rozah, so called from being occupied by the tombs of several celebrated Mohammedans, among which are those of Aurungzeb and Malik Ambar. The hill runs in the form of a crescent, of which the concave, or middle part, faces north-westerly, and overlooks a considerable plain of inferior height; in which at no great distance is the village of Virul, or Ellora. The horns of the crescent rise to an elevation considerably above the intermediate range, where the perpendicular face of the rock varies from twenty-five to seventy or eighty feet; at the southern end of which is the road that conducts the traveller over the hilly range situated between the caves and Daulatabad, or Deogarh, distant only a pleasant morning's ride from the modern city of Aurungabad. The view of the desolate but romantically situated table land of Rozah is particularly striking to the eye of the traveller; who, having descended amidst the melancholy loneliness of the place, views the extent and magnificence of the subterraneous temples, with a feeling of astonishment and curiosity; while the elegantly wrought pillars, rare mythological designs, and colossal statues, met with on the face of the hill, distract his mind with inquiry as to who were the wealthy and extraordinary people that have left these monuments behind them, while every other trace of their power and existence has disappeared. Without plans or drawings of the individual excavations, no minute description of them would be intelligible; and, indeed, no description could possibly do them justice, as they are the most singular remains of antiquity that have ever met my observation, excepting the more magnificent, and somewhat similar excavations at *Jarf Hasan*, *Dayr* and *Abă-sam-baal*, in Nubia. My remarks, therefore, on the sculptures must be chiefly confined to the mythological character of the figures in the several ranges, which point out to what particular religion they belong.

* See Wilson's Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection, Vol. I. p. 154.

† Mr. Colebrooke on the Bhagavatas. Trans: R. A. S. Vol. I. p. 576.

‡ This animal, as mentioned in a previous note, is the *Gariala Gangetica*, or long beaked crocodile of the Indus and Ganges; and is the symbol of *Kama*, the Indian Apollo, who is consequently named *Makara Dhwaja*. In the book of Job, chap. xli. ver. 18, speaking of God's great power in the Leviathan, or crocodile, his eyes are likened to the eyelids of the morning; a representation exactly analogous to that given by the Egyptians; who we know depicted the eyes of the crocodile to denote the rising of the sun, and represented it with its head inverted to indicate the setting of the same luminary. We learn both from Horopollo and Macrobius, that this animal was a type of the sun, deified under this attribute at Ombos, in Egypt, and called *Savak* according to Sir J. G. Wilkinson's Egyptian Pantheon, p. 45. Clemens of Alexandria, who wrote A. D. 206, says, that the Egyptians symbolized the sun by the crocodile; and that their ænigmas signified the sun penetrating a soft and humid air produced time. Stromat. Lib. V. p. 566.

The extreme sculpture, met with to the northward, is a colossal statue of *Parswa-natha*, the twenty-third *Jaina* saint; which is executed in the mural face of a basaltic hill, situated about two hundred yards north-eastward of the *Indra-sabha*. It is represented seated on a throne or tabular sculpture from the rock, supported by elephants' and tigers' heads, from the centre of which projects a wheel, similar to what we see below the sitting Bauddha statues at Ajanta. The height of the image is about ten feet; its legs crossed, and hands laid on the lap, with the palms upward; while its head is overshadowed, as usually seen in the images of *Parswa-natha*, by the hooded snake, which is here depicted with seven heads, though five form the more usual representation, and are probably meant to be symbolical of the five elements or *Dhyani Buddhas*, that are enshrined within the genuine *Chaitya*.* The image of *Parswa-natha*, worshipped in the desert of *Parkur*, and described by the late Captain McMurdo, in the first volume of the Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society, corresponds generally with the image at Ellora, except that the former has the right foot laid on the left knee, similar to the positions of the Bauddha statues in Nepal, and called the *Lalita-asan manner*,† or languishing posture of desire, which is seen well represented in plate No. XII. of the drawings at Ajanta.

On the front part of the tablet supporting the image of *Parswa-natha* at Ellora, there is a long inscription, divided into two portions by an astrological diagram, mistaken by Colonel Sykes for an astronomical table; on the left hand side, or eastern portion of which is the first half of the inscription, recording that this image of the twenty-third Jaina saint, was placed there in the year of the *Shalivahana Shak* 1156, A. D. 1234, and *Jaya* year, or twenty-eighth of the *Vrihaspati era*, the cyclar year of the planet Jupiter's revolutions; which was introduced we know into the south of India in the 75th year of our era. Colonel Sykes also states that about a hundred years ago the piety of a *shroff* at Aurungabad caused a a porch of stone to be erected over the image, and this inscription to be engraved: but of the former there are now no apparent remains, and both the ancient style of the letters of this inscription, and the obvious meaning of it, show that the tradition related by the Colonel was founded on misconception and error of those attendant at the caves, who are ready to get up any story that may satisfy the curiosity of the visitor. The character of the letters is that which preceded the modern Devanagari alphabet, and which has been correctly assigned by Mr. Prinsep to the eleventh century of our era. A transcript into the latter, with a translation, is here given without comment on the language; as any observations on this subject will be reserved for the third chapter, containing a general account of all the cave inscriptions.

स्वस्ति श्रीशक १९५६ जयसंवत्सरे श्रीगावे पदराजग्राखान्य श्रीपार्श्वनाथ वस्यगिरीवारणसेविते चक्रासमेरीतिनयदानूमृता धर्मै
एकामुक्ति स्थिर दांत दृष्टः —

Be it auspicious! In the fortunate year of the Shaka 1156, and Jaya year of the Vrihaspati era, the prosperous royal footstep of the celebrated King *Parswa-natha*, was established, in the mountain dedicated to the elephant, glittering with moral love of the deceased giver of *Dharma* (righteousness,) the one emancipated immortal, who when visible remained steadfast in subduing passion.‡

The appellation of "elephant mountain" given in the inscription to this locality, may contain an allusion to *Parswa-natha's* previous form of *Gaja*, (the elephant,) and *Marabhuti*, (the superhuman power of love;) an account of which will be found in Major Delamaine's history of the saint, taken from the *Charitra Parswa-natha* and other Jaina works.§ This author and Major Wilford have noticed that the

* See note to page 16.

† The Lalita-asan posture ललितासन is described by Mr. Hodgson to be that of one leg tucked under the other, in which manner *Prajna*, the mother of all the gods, is described by the *Bhadra Kalpavadan* as seated on a lotus of precious stones, sustaining the mansion of the moon crescent. See Mr. Hodgson's quotations, from original Bauddha authorities in Prinsep's Journal Vol. V. p. 86.

‡ Major Delamaine, in his account of the Jains, gives the names of ten forms of *Parswa-natha* from the *Kalpa Sutra*, the scriptural book of authority for this religion: the reputed author of which was *Jaina-Acharya*, the *guru* or spiritual preceptor of the Rajah *Amoghavarsha*: whose date is verified by the copper plate inscription, translated by Mr. Wathen, (Journal R. A. S. Vol. II. p. 379 and dated Saka 894. A. D. 972.)

§ Most of the Jaina saints, and even Vishnu, are figuratively made out to be Rajas or kings; and though it be possible that *Parswa-natha* in his mortal form was one, it is yet evident that most of his ten names are allusive to the powers of the sun's physical influence on the world. *Parswa-natha* पार्श्वनाथ and *Sura-nabhi* सूरनभि thus mean his energies as lord and master of the wheels of time; while that of *Kiranavega* किरणवेग directly signifies the power or love of the sun, in allusion to its physical influence on the earth. The Kalpa Sutra indeed states, as mentioned by Mr. Colebrooke in his account of the Jainas, (A. R. Vol. IX. p. 309,) that *Parswa-natha* was born at Bhelapura near Benares, 1230 years before the date of this work, giving his era B. C. 258. This date brings him about the time of the celebrated Indian Emperor *Dharma Asoka*, who, though the chief propagator and supporter of the *Bauddha* heresy, could not be well the founder of the *Jaina* form of it, as supposed by Mr. Colebrooke; if the *Digambaras*, or followers of the naked saints of this religion, had not their origin earlier than

Jain accounts of *Parswa-natha* refer to the period of the *Hijra*; about which time the latter thinks, that *Jina* or *Gautama* appeared in his last incarnation as *Gaja Vasishta*, or he who resides in the body of the elephant. Much historical ignorance prevails among Bauddha and Jaina sectaries, and the account of their deities, containing references to the earliest times of the Christian and Mohammedan religions, are obscured by numerous anachronisms. But though *Parswa-natha's* manifestation may be a tale of modern invention, it contains allusions to more ancient times, or the primitive institution of *Buddhism*, when both this and *Brahmanism* took their origin from the prior worship of the sun, moon, and elements, or the religion of the *Vedas*. The early Jaina books have evidently no desire for concealment, as to the origin of this Sect; which was flourishing at the beginning of the fifth century of our era, or A. D. 421, as asserted by the *Satranjaya Mahatmya*, or legend of the temples of Palitana in Kahtiwar.

Proceeding southwards we come to the next series of excavations, the first of which has been named the *Jagannatha-sabha*. On the left hand side of the area there is a cave, usually named the *Adi-nath-sabha*, implying that it is dedicated to *Rishaba*, the first of the twenty-four Jaina saints. In the recess, opposite the front of this excavation, there is a seated naked figure; called, by the Brahman attendants at the cave, *Adi-nath;* an appellation for the Supreme Being, used by both Bauddhas and Jainas. The image appears however to represent *Padma-pani*, the Bauddha celestial *Bodhi-satwa*, and ruler of the present system of creation. Several other naked figures are sculptured around the cave, all of them being seated; and if the *Jains* can claim such as representatives of their religious notions, they are so of the earliest sect, or those of the *Digambaras*.

The excavation fronting the entrance of the area, is what is usually named the *Jagannatha-sabha;* in the recess of the lower story of which there is a similar image to that just described as belonging to the former cave. On each side of the image are the statues of two attendants called *Jaya* and *Vijaya;* who, as noticed by Mr. Wilson, are the usual menial attendants on *Padma-pani*, and are considered among the *Jains* as two of the *Bhairavas*, and placed as janitors to the images of the *Tirthankaras*.* The appellation of *Jagannatha*, (lord of the world,) is applied by the Jainas to *Parswanatha*, and the appropriation by these sectaries of a series of caves decidedly *Bauddha*, evinces the intimate connection of the *Jains* with a religion from which they had their origin, though there be now no followers of *Buddha* in India.

The next cave of this series is what is known by the name of *Indra-sabha*, consisting of an upper and lower story, in front of which the area is entered by a handsome gateway cut in the rock. Here on the left hand side of the court is an obelisk, surmounted by four *Buddhas*, and doubtless dedicated to the sun as the one at Karli, where the inscription leaves no question of the intention in this matter. Near the middle of the courtyard, and opposite the lower story of this cave, there is a monolithic temple of a pyramidal shape, supported by pillars; within which is a square altar, whose faces support four images of *Buddha*, showing that it is a *Chaitya* dedicated to the five *Dhyani Buddhas*. On the west face of one of the pillars, in the second row and left hand side of this cave, we meet with inscription No. 2, published by Wilford;† and which is the only one of that collection, of which the interpretation, or alphabet said to be discovered by his Pundit, will bear examination. It is cut under the statue of a male figure, over whose head rise three tiers of umbrellas. The person represented by the image was, as would appear, a Brahmachari, named *Sri Sohila*, who through the usual penance and abstraction had subdued his passions, and became a form of *Buddha*. On the right hand side, below a statue sculptured from a pillar in the third row, we find No. 6 inscription, of the same collection. From this lower story the visitor ascends to the upper, by a flight of steps, at the top of which, and fronting him, a gigantic figure of *Indra* is sculptured, and opposite to it one of a female called *Indrani*. The former is seated on an elephant, and the latter on a tiger. From the head dress of either a tree is represented with wide spreading branches, not

A. D. 421, or the later date A. D. 553, according to Col. Miles' account of the Gujarat Jains: (Trans. R. A. S). Mr. Colebrooke seems to think that the distinction, in ancient times, between the *Brahmans* and *Samanas* or *Sramanas*, (Bauddhas and Jains) was that the former worshipped the sun, and that the rival sects of *Jaina* and *Buddha* never did so; but there is abundant proof in the tenor of the cave inscriptions to show that this opinion is not altogether correct. The Bauddha *Attha-Katha*, commented on by Mr. Turnour, indeed, mentions, that those that did so were considered heretics: but the practice seems to have been general in the west of India; and Mr. Hodgson, in a letter to Mr. Wathen, states that the Bauddhas of Nepal even perform the *Hom*. The *Attha-Katha* relating the history of the third Bauddha convocation, held in the time of Asoka, says, that these heretics (*tithaya*) gave rise to various excrescences, defilements, and thorns, unto the religion of Buddha; some of these flocked to the fire, as an object of adoration: others scorched themselves in the manner of the *Panchatapa* sect: some prostrated themselves towards the sun; others began to declare openly, " let us destroy your *Dhammo* (faith) and *Winaya*, (religious discipline.) See Prinsep's Journal Vol. VI. p. 733.

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVI. page 467, and Transactions R. A. S. Vol. I. page 423.

† Asiatic Researches, Vol. V. page 140.

unlike a similar sculpture which I saw in the temple* of Ufadina in Nubia, dedicated to *Isis*, or the Egyptian Athor, the goddess of fecundity. The female figure here sculptured appears to be *Vyaghrini*, or the tiger goddess, one of the inferior spirits attached to the *Matris*, or divine mothers of the Bauddha system.†

Middle Excavations.

The first of these, called by the Brahmans *Dumar Lena*, is distant southward more than two hundred yards from the last of those just described. It is of great extent, and is entered by a doorway at the end of a lane leading from without. On the right hand side of the area the visitor comes to the great excavation, which has at its entrance two lions *couchant*. In front of the cave there is a verandah; on the left hand side of which a colossal statue of *Buddha* is sculptured, usually called by the Brahman attendants *Dharma Raja*. At the opposite, or right hand side, *Maheswara Mahadeva*, surrounded by a group of figures, is represented; and the skeleton figure, sculptured in a corner of one compartment of this cave, where Bauddha and Brahmanical theogony appears mixed and confounded, would indicate the origin of the sculptures among the *Kapala* followers of Mahadeva; who, as already noticed, are said by the *Sri Bhagavata* to have been associates of the Bauddha sectaries. This excavation is dedicated to the *linga* which occupies the square temple at the end of the central colonnade, and is ornamented by four doors and eight colossal janitors. A fine open area surrounds the temple; to the right of which on the wall are represented *Siva* and *Parvati* seated on *Kailasa*, supported by the giant *Ravan*; and which is thus mentioned in the three first slokas of the inscription from Mahamalaiapur, translated by Dr. B. G. Babington. ‡ 1. "May the cause of creation, existence and destruction, which is itself without cause, the destroyer of *Manmadan* (desire,) be propitious to the desires of the world." 2d "May he who is united with *Uma*§ of many kinds of illusion, without quality, the destroyer of evil dispositions, of incorruptible wealth, the lord of *Cuberan*, be counted excellent." 3rd. "May that deity *Siva* protect us all, who is the seat of prosperity, and by whose means *Kailasa* disappeared and descended to *Patala*, yielding by its weight, which he caused on account of its being supported by the ten faced *Ravanan*" The demon is here represented with ten arms and five visible faces; as many as could be well represented in the sculpture. Other groups of personages, belonging to the Hindu mythology are represented, among which on the left hand side the principal is a figure of *Virabhadra* with eight arms, which is a form of *Siva Maheswara*, produced by him for the purpose of destroying *Daksha's* sacrifice, as related in the *Vishnu* and *Bhagavata Puranas*.||

This excavation has been usually named the *Dumar Lena*, or cave of the nuptial union between the two productive principles of nature; but the appellation of *Dharma Lunam* was probably intended, and seems more appropriate: as from all that may be observed of these sculptures the intention was to represent the mystic creation of the universe from *Dharma* the type of productive power in union with the *Sakti*, or conceptive principle, as explained by the modified atheistical system of the *Prajnika-Swabhavika* Bauddhas; ¶ who seem to have been associates of the heretical Maheswaras, and nearly allied to them in tenets.

Southwards of the *Dharma Lunam* there is a nullah, presenting at one part a precipitous descent of the rock, eighty or a hundred feet in depth; over which the water, at the end of the rainy season, forms a cascade. Following the bank of this nullah some way eastward, several small caves, containing *lingas*, present themselves; on the back wall of which are the busts of the *Triad* described well and minutely by Colonel Sykes; but which instead of being representations of the orthodox Brahmanical *trimurti*, seem to be here sculptured agreeably to *Bauddha notions* of the triple union** of the productive power.

The next excavation, which lies immediately across the nullah, is named the *Jan-wassa*, or the birth chamber. It contains a *linga*, the three figures of *Maheswara*, *Vishnu* and *Brahma*, and a sculpture of the *Varaha avatar*, or *Vishnu* in the form of a boar supporting *Prithvi*, or the earth, as related in the fourth

* The only part of the temple remaining is a wall situated near the village of *Gurta*, the *Corta Prima* of the Romans. Both this and a neighbouring building appear to have been made into a Church by the early Greek Christians of Nubia, who amidst hieroglyphics and the winged globe, have painted Greek saints on the walls. The whole of this neighbourhood is celebrated for having been visited, about A. D. 420, by the Gothic Historian Olympiodorus; who, on his fame reaching the ears of the Chiefs and Prophets of the barbarian *Blemmys*, was carried by them from his own country to Talmis, in order that he might enlighten them on the subject of their country. It was at this period that the Vandals had passed from Spain into Africa, at the instigation of the Roman General Boniface. See Photii Bibliotheca Codex LXXX. page 194.

† Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVI. page 465.

‡ Transactions R. A. S. Vol. II. page 266.

§ See first Note at page 7.

|| See Translation of the Vishnu Purana by Professor Wilson, page 65, and the fourth Khanda or section of the Bhagavata.

¶ See page 20. ** See previous note at page 20.

chapter of the *Vishnu Purana;* and would therefore appear to be dedicated to creation as its name implies. The succeeding caves named *Ghana, Nilkantha,* and *Ramesvara,* contain *lingas;* and belong as appears to the heretical *Mahesvaras,* or followers of *Siva* as *Pasupati.* The sculptures in the latter require more extended notice as they have chiefly reference to the different forms of *Devi,* (the goddess) or *Durga,* which she assumed on the occasion of the *Daityas* or demons, having by profound religious austerities endangered the power and existence of the gods. On the right hand side of the wall, as we enter the cave, eight females seated in a line, with each a child in her arms, and *Ganesa* at the head, represent the forms of *Durga* as *Ganesa janani,* or the mother of the god of wisdom; in whose honor is celebrated the *Nava Ratri* or the nine nights of *Ascin,* and the festival of the *Dasahara* or the *Durga Puja.* This goddess, here represented in her more terrific forms as the destroyer of the buffalo demon *Mahesasur,* is the chief object of worship among the *Tantrikas;* and is usually surrounded with skeletons, three of which are sculptured in an angle of the southern wall. This cave, which consists of a long hall, and recess containing the linga opposite the entrance, has receding compartments at either end. The group of *Mahadeva* and *Parvati,* sculptured to the right of the one situated on the spectator's right hand, has been admirably represented by Captain Grindlay's pencil, in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society.* Mahadeva and his consort are here playing at *Shatrinj,* or chess, surrounded by attendants, and a *daitya* or demon is seated between, exciting the divinities to a quarrel: while the *Nandi,* or bull, sacred to *Siva* and his retinue, is supporting them below. The whole has reference to Brahma's fabled love for his daughter *Parvati,* the consort of *Maheswara;* who when he became acquainted with the circumstances, took the form of *Kal Bhairava:* in which character he is represented in a dancing attitude on the wall, opposite to the group of skeletons before noticed. On this occasion *Brahma* had aspired to be considered a greater divinity than *Mahesvara;* when *Siva,* having the declaration of the *Vedas* in his favor, and being abused and insulted by *Brahma,* assumed the terrific form here represented; under which he tore off with his nails one of the five heads of *Brahma,* who when subdued acknowledged him the superior divinity. The substance of this story is to be found in the *Kasi Khanda* of the *Skanda Purana.* The centre of the receding compartment at the northern end of the cave, is occupied by the group of figures, commonly called the marriage of *Rama* and *Sita;* but which is no doubt intended for a representation of the union of *Siva* and *Parvati.* On the western side of this, *Kartikeya,* or the god of war, another of the sons of *Durga,* is sculptured mounted on a bird, which may be the peacock; and to the east of the group are two statues of men, represented with heads shaven in the middle, and a semicircular portion of hair above the ears, intended evidently for *Bauddha* sectaries, or at least followers of the *Yoga,* and religious austerities. Here also the demon *Ravana* is sculptured supporting *Kailasa,* as in the excavation *Dharma Lunam;* and is made to appear among these *Saiva* sculptures, to indicate the fabled belief related in the heroic poems of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabharat,* that while *Ravan* was a *Siva-bhakt,* or follower of *Mahesvara* and the *Yoga,* he rendered abortive the attempts of *Rama* and the gods to destroy him: and it may be from this circumstance that the Brahman attendants have named the cave *Ramesvara,* but with what little propriety it is so called has just been shown from an analysis of the sculptures.

Several small caves between this and the magnificent monolithic temple called *Kailasa* may be met with, but are scarcely worthy of notice. The latter, which has been often described, is the most extensive and wonderful structure at Ellora; consisting of a Pagoda in form of a cone, about one hundred feet high, standing in a vast area of nearly four hundred feet in depth, and connected by two bridges and elaborate sculptures on an elegant portico; the upper story of which rising above the gateway, contains the *Nandi* (Siva's bull,) and appears to have been intended as a room for the accommodation of the band of musicians that attended at great festivals. On passing the gateway below, the visitor enters the area, and proceeding under a small bridge comes to a solid square mass of stone; the sides of which are sculptured with various figures and support a room above connected with the balcony of the gateway. The western face of this basement has a sculptured representation of what the Brahmans call *Lakshmi* seated on the lotus, and watered by the trunks of two elephants, similar to a sculpture of the same goddess, from Mahamalaipur, given by Dr. Babington in plate VIII of his report on these interesting structures. Brahmanical identification of this sculpture, as the *Sakti* among *Saiva* figures, would show how nearly the original creed of Bauddhas and Brahmans approached each other; and though most of the sculptures of *Kailasa* belong, as will be seen, to the favored religious sectarism of *Siva,* the statue of the goddess is here represented agreeably to Bauddha ideas, which recognize the female divinity, *Adi-Prajna,* or *Adi-Dharma,* as symbolized by the *lotus,* or *yoni;* and manifested in Nepal as (jalsu-rupa) or the form of water.† On either side of this

* Vol. II. page 488, plate V.

† Mr. Hodgson's notes on his sketch of Buddhism. Trans. R. A. S. Vol. II. page 249—253. In plates XXII. and XXX of the Ajanta drawings, women are represented pouring water over the devotees, to remind them as appears of this essential principle of their faith.

figure the passage opens right and left into the area, where are standing stone statues of two elephants, one of which is headless. Having passed these we are conducted to a second passage under another small bridge, that connects the upper room of the stone basement before mentioned with the body and upper story of the great temple. Two gigantic statues, similar to the usual representations of Buddha, are to be seen under the bridge at the second passage, and are usually named *Raja Bhoja* and *Ghatotkacha;* the latter of whom is mentioned, by the *Mahabharat*, as the natural brother of the *Pandus*. Two flights of steps lead from the first passage to the upper room which contains the *Nandi*, and is furnished with two doors and two windows. Opposite the latter there are two stone obelisks rising from the area below, and from this room, which is on a level with three small apartments over the gateway, the visitor may cross over the second bridge, and enter, (by a handsome open portico raised on lion pillars,) the grand apartment of the temple, which is supported by two rows of pillars. Two projecting portions or balconies from the latter, appear to have been once connected, by a bridge, with smaller temples in the upper part of the scarped rock that encloses the area below. The hall of the great temple is about sixty-six feet by fifty-five in measurement, and the height of the ceiling varies from sixteen to seventeen feet. At the eastern end a doorway leads to a recess containing the *linga*; and the outer wall of the temple is sculptured with a profusion of imagery descriptive of a battle, which refers, as would appear, to the war of the *Kuravas* and *Pandus*, the theme of the Mahabharat. Interiorly a doorway, on each side of the recess containing the *linga*, leads to an open platform where five smaller chapels rise in the form of a pyramid, and are elaborately sculptured with figures of the Hindu mythology, but contain no *lingas*.

Words cannot well convey an idea of this magnificent structure; on the right and left of which are several smaller excavations, in the upper part of the rock enclosing the area; and in rear of the temple, level with its base, three colonnades consisting of a single row of pillars, and corresponding pilasters, are seen between it and the northern, eastern, and southern scarps of the rock. Here between the pilasters, in the several compartments, are sculptured so many figures of different divinities, as if they were meant to represent the whole of the Hindu Pantheon. Those in the *northern* colonnade, distributed in twelve compartments, are dedicated to the Saiva faith, and intended to represent its superiority to that of Vishnu. It is scarcely necessary here to enumerate the character of the several figures, as others have already done so though not quite correctly; and I may satisfy myself and the reader by only alluding to some of the principal. The *first* on this side is the *linga*, surmounted by nine heads, which are those of the demon *Ravana* supporting the symbol; and who is said to have been so devoted a follower of *Siva* as to yield up nine of his heads to the service of this deity, and was about to sacrifice the tenth, that he might obtain immortality and universal dominion. The remaining figures are chiefly various representations of *Siva* and *Parvati;* number *seventh* is a Bhakta, or follower of this deity; and the *twelfth* one represents *Siva* issuing from the primitive linga, (pillar of radiance), when he revealed himself to his consort *Parvati* or *Chundi* to slay the demons *Chanda* and *Munda*, who, through a boon granted by the divine mothers, had become so powerful as to fill with alarm the three worlds; and who, though once subdued by *Devi*, were now exalted beyond her might. In the *eastern colonnade* there are nineteen compartments, containing figures that are also chiefly representations of *Siva's avatars*. In the *second* he has assumed the form of *Virabhadra* to destroy as appears *Daksha's* sacrifice; though the Brahman attendants call this the destruction of *Tripura Asur*,* one of the three demons destroyed by *Maheswara*. In the succeeding one the same deity, as an archer, is standing on a chariot drawn by horses; and with his upper left hand holds the extended bow, while the lower and third hand, on the opposite side, supports the trident. An elegant sketch of both figures has been given by Capt. Grindlay, who calls the latter *Jayadharatha*, meaning nothing more than the bearer of victory; but which is here a representation of *Siva* going to battle against *Jalandhara*, as related in the Padma Purana; and of which the legend will be found in Colonel Kennedy's work on Hindu Mythology.† The *sixth* compartment contains a figure of *Vishnu* in the form of *Narasinha*, or a man lion, destroying the demon *Hiranyakasipa*. From the *twelfth* to the *nineteenth* compart-

* In all the Hindu legends regarding the destruction of demons, and varied considerably in different works, there would appear to be a veiled meaning or allegory relative to the efficacy of penance and abstraction, or piety and virtue, raising their votaries to superhuman power, hostile to the religion of the *Vedas* and the more recent introduction of the *Saiva* and *Vishnava* faith. The three demons, here called *Tripura*, having received a boon from Brahma, obtained the construction of three cities, and had become so powerful as to occasion distress to the gods. *Siva* was applied to by *the immortals for the destruction of the demons;* but while their chief adhered to virtue it was not allowable that this deity should slay them. *The gods failing* in their suit to *Siva*, next applied to *Vishnu:* who, deluding the demons by heretical opinions, propagated by a shaved head (or Bauddha) dressed in dirty clothes and holding in his hand a pot and besom, brought down destruction on the inhabitants of the city of *Tripura*, who had been initiated in the new doctrines. As the demons through the delusion of *Vishnu*, had thus abandoned piety, *Siva* no longer hesitated to carry into effect the wishes of the gods; and accordingly destroyed the *Tripura Asuras*. Col. Kennedy in his Mythology has given the whole of this legend from the Siva Purana, and mentions also the version of it as related in the Bhagavata.

† Hindu Mythology page 485.

ment, *Siva* appears in his character of eight *Bhairavas*. The *southern colonnade* contains a similar number of compartments as that on the north side. In the *first* of these a figure half male and half female, is represented with one breast; being the type of the two productive principles of nature, and only another form of *Siva*, called *Ardha Nariswara.** The *third* compartment contains a figure with four heads grasping a pillar, and intended for *Brahma* paying his devotion to the *Agni Linga*. In the fourth one, *Vishnu* in the *Narasinha avatar*, is tearing out the bowels of *Hiranya-Kasipa;* and in the succeeding one he is sculptured sleeping on *Sesha* or the *Dharanidhara* of the Jains; the serpent who supports the universe, and the well known representation of *Vishnu* as *Narayana*, who is thus addressed in the first hymn of the *Atharvana Veda*. " Glorious Narayana, celestial light.—Narayana, the universal spirit—Narayana, the supreme Brahma, to thee be veneration.—Narayana, god of gods, preserver of the universe—Narayana, contemplator supreme, to thee be veneration.—Narayana, abode of felicity, supernal meditation—Narayana, first of virtues, to thee be veneration.—Narayana, the supreme Veda, the great wisdom—Narayana, thou art all things and manifestly present, to thee be veneration.—Narayana, from whom Brahma originated, from whom Siva sprang—Narayana, from whom Indra was born, to thee be veneration.—Narayana, the sun and moon—Narayana, light and sacrifice—Narayana, visible in fire, to thee be veneration.—Narayana, the object of worship, and the pious preceptor—Narayana, eternal emancipation, to thee be veneration.—Narayana, the chief end and accomplishment and happiness of all—Narayana, the sun and Vishnu, to thee be veneration."—The seven heads of the *Naga*, or serpent, form a canopy over the head of the recumbent figure, as seen in the sitting images of *Parswanatha;* and from its navel springs a lotus, on which Brahma sits. The whole must be intelligible to the reader from the substance of the hymn just quoted, shewing how intimately the primitive notions of Bauddhas and Brahmans were connected with the worship of the sun and sacrifice; till such gave way before abstract meditation and seclusion, with a tender regard for animal life. The last however, as the means of obtaining emancipation and final felicity, yielded to the preference given to faith in particular divinities, of which there are strong indications in the sculptures we are now contemplating. The remaining figures have chiefly reference to the incarnations of *Vishnu*, as stated in the *Bhagavata* and *Garura Puranas*, regarding which I before hazarded a conjecture that the adaptation of primitive *Buddhism* to *Vaishnava* principles had given origin to the present form of the *Jaina* faith.†

The sixth compartment contains a figure of *Krishna* attended by cows, in his character of the cowherd of *Vindravan*; and which from its resemblance to that of the *Apollo Nomios* of the Greeks, bears strong indications of a foreign origin. In the seventh, *Vishnu* is hurling from his throne the giant *Bali*, and traversing earth at a footstep; according to the legend that when the giant gave him, in his dwarf avatar, as much ground as he could cover in three steps, he placed his feet on the three worlds. *Vishnu*, in the *Varaha avatar*, or incarnation of a hog raising up *Prithivi*, or the earth, that had been submerged by the waters, is sculptured in the ninth compartment: and similar sculptures to those just mentioned, may be seen among Dr. Babington's drawings from Mahamalaiapur. The tenth compartment represents *Krishna* slaying the serpent *Kaliya*, that had poisoned the pure and sacred river *Yamuna*, and caused the death of many of the cowherds of *Vindravan*. The coincidence between this legend and that of the snake at Delphi, killed by the Pythian Apollo, must be more than casual; and would lead one to conjecture that the tribe of the

* The following passage, from the Linga Purana, translated by Col. Kennedy, in his Hindu Mythology, will familiarize the reader with the variety of epithets given to the forms of *Siva*, and his consort Gauri, or Parvati: —

" Siva is the supreme being, and Gauri is his energy; Siva is the male, and Gauri the female principle of existence; Siva is the meaning, and Gauri the voice; Siva is the day, and Gauri the night; Siva is the sacrificer, and Gauri the sacrifice; Siva is the heaven, and Gauri the earth; Siva is the sea, and Gauri the tide; Siva is the tree, and Gauri the fruit; Siva is Brahma, and Gauri Savitri (the wife of Brahma ;) Siva is Vishnu, and Gauri Lakshmi; Siva is every male, and Gauri every female being: actuality is Siva, potentially Gauri; as multitudinous sparks issue from fire, so multitudinous forms of a twofold nature proceed from Siva and Gauri, of which the outward form is Gauri, but the spirit Siva; the senses are Gauri, and the power of perception Siva: intellection is Gauri, and the intellect is Siva; the pedestal is Gauri, and Siva is the lingam, the object of unceasing worship by men and gods; all things of a feminine nature are Gauri, and all of a masculine, Siva; the three worlds are but the form of Gauri, whose soul is Siva. Thus are Siva and Gauri the causes of all things, the preservers of this universe, and those to whom the adoration of men ought at all times to be devoutly addressed."

The prototype of the same goddess in Egypt appears to be *Isis* or *Math*, the mother goddess; who like *Ambica*, (motherly,) or *Parvati*, was named the mundane habitation of Horus or the recipient of productive power, and like the Hindu goddess, is represented more in her *physical* than *astral* character: in which latter she becomes the *Nanaia* of the *Ard-okro* or *Mithraic* series of coins found in the Punjab, and was among the Persians and Greeks the *Queen of heaven*, sometimes the moon and sometimes the planet Venus. The goddess *Uma* (mother) of India appears to have had appellations similar to those given to the Egyptian goddess; and is called on the *Rathas* (evolutions of form) at Mahamalaiapur *Bhuvan Bhajana* भुवन भाजन: or the mundane vessel. She is there depicted with only one breast being the masculo — feminine principle of production. (See Dr. Babington's figures from the east side of the Ruthas, No. 3. Trans. R. A. S. Vol. II. plate XVI.) But I must not anticipate conclusions from facts connected with the very interesting coins, which have been discovered of late years in the northwest of India; to the illustration of which I propose to devote another volume, calculated I hope to shed light on the history and Mythology of India.

† See Page 8.

Yadavas, from which *Krishna* sprung, was a northern one, having access to the mythological legends of Greece.*

The succeeding cave, southwards from *Kailasa*, is that called the *Das avatar*, from an idea that the sculptures represent the ten first avatars of *Vishnu*. The recess contains a *yoni*, from which the *linga* has been removed; and the walls are covered with sculptures of *Siva* and *Vishnu*; similar to those we have already mentioned; and which need not be now repeated in detail. In the first compartment, on the left hand at entering, we find *Siva*, ornamented with the scull necklace, killing *Daksha*; and on the opposite wall he is sculptured issuing from the *linga* to destroy the *Tripura Asura*. In other pannels, *Vishnu*, in his incarnations of *Narasinha*, *Krishna*, and the like, is variously represented; and as the figures of him and *Siva* are here indiscriminately mingled, they were probably intended to inculcate the doctrine that *Vishnu* and *Siva* were equally objects of worship, though faith in the latter had the preference as a means of salvation.

Between the *Das avatar* and the excavation called *Tin-Tal*, that named the *Rikh-Ravan*, is situated. It appears to chiefly contain sculptures bearing reference to the efficacy of faith and the worship of *Siva* and *Vishnu*, as exemplified by the demon *Ravana's* faith in the character of a *Rishi*, (or saint.)

Southern Excavations.

The *Tin Tal*, an excavation of three stories, is said by the Brahmans, to represent *Hell*, *Earth*, and *Heaven*. It is entered by a good gateway, formed from the hewn rock; and the whole has an elegant appearance. The lower story, or *Patala Loka*, contains at the extremity, opposite the entrance, a gigantic figure of *Buddha*, on the right and left of which, in two separate pannels, are smaller though similar figures; and the whole were probably intended to represent the *Tri Ratna*, or the three *Buddhas* of the *trinity*, similar to what travellers find in the Bauddha temples in China.† Ascending to the second story, we enter a verandah, at the opposite end of which is a majestic sitting figure, similar to the usual statues of *Buddha*; but which, from having the sculptures of two dogs in front, is identified by the Brahmans as *Kuvera*, the god of riches; and as this deity is one of the *Dasa-Dik-Pals*, or ten regents of the heavenly quarters, who are objects of worship with the *Jainas*‡, the appearance of him, in this otherwise *Bauddha* excavation, becomes quite intelligible. His image, being also clothed, indicates that it belongs to the *Swetambaras*, or clothed followers of the Jaina sectaries, and generally thought to be of more recent origin than the *Digambaras*. The Bauddha image in the recess, at the extremity of the centre aisle of a hall nearly one hundred and forty feet long, appears intended to represent *Padma Pani*, and is seated on the lotus. The upper story or *Swerga-Loka*, ascended from the northern end of the verandah in the hall below, is more than a hundred feet long by seventy broad. The gigantic image, in the recess at the end of the hall, is also seated on the lotus, and represents *Padma Pani*, as in the second story, though the Brahmans call this figure *Rama*, and name the five statues on the left hand side the five *Pandus*, but which may be more correctly considered the representatives of the five *Dhyani-Buddhas*;§ of which five other statues are to be seen on the opposite wall. Female figures, seated on the lotus, are sculptured round the wall of the antechamber of the recess in this cave; and a tiny image of *Amitabha Buddha*, seated over the head of each female, leaves no doubt as to the character of the image in the recess being *Padma Pani*, the creator of the present system, who is fabled by Bauddha mythologists, to be the son of *Amitabha*, the same as the *Amida-Fo* of China. The verandah of the second story of this excavation has several cells, intended for the residence of the priests.

* It is still more remarkable that Krishna's appellations of Govinda and Kesava, गोविंद केशव, in Sanskrit, are direct translations of Apollo's titles, in Greek, νόμιος Nomios (the herding,) and εὐχαίτης Eukhaites (the well haired.)

† General description of the Chinese Empire, (by J. F. Davis, Esq. F. R. S. Vol. II. p. 82) giving an account of the temple of Fo near Canton.

‡ Mr. Csoma de Koros, in explaining the *Trans-Himalayan Buddhist amulets*, found at Rampur, says that one of the *Bauddha Sutras* is successively addressed to the *ten Buddhas*, who fancifully possess the ten corners of the world; which are the four intermediate points, with the *Zenith* and *Nadir*. It is called the *Venerable Sutra*, dispelling the darkness of the ten corners; and which was originally taught by *Sakya*. Journal, Asiatic Soc. 1840 p. 906.

§ According to the Buddha Gaya inscription, dated Vikramaditeya 1005, A. D. 949. (A. R., Vol. I. p. 286) Amara Verma set up, along with the supreme spirit *Buddha*, (called an incarnation of Vishnu,) the images of the five Pandus, and of the descents of Vishnu as seen in the Ellora Caves: but this is probably Brahmanical identification, or at least after *Buddha* had been incorporated in the *Puranas* as the *ninth Avatar of Vishnu*.

The next excavation, consisting of two stories, and consequently named the *Do-Tal*, is sometimes called the *Duhkya Ghur*, from an absurd Brahmanical story that *Visva-karma*, the architect of the gods, having finished the neighbouring arched cave, intended this structure should rival it, but was compelled to desist at the second story, having cut his finger, which he now holds in the other hand in the attitude of pain. Sir Charles Malet was told that this cave was dedicated to the brothers of *Rama;* but the three statues of *Buddha*, which occupy three apartments in the lower story, shew that the *Bauddha trinity* is intended. A drawing of the right hand figure was executed for me, and represents the image clothed, seated on the lotus over a raised throne, which has for supporters two females, or *Bauddha Saktis;* and the image therefore seems to be a *Prajnika-Swabhavika* representation of *Dharma*, or deified nature. In the second story, where there are many cells for the priests, *Buddha* appears in the *Dhyan-mudra*, or meditative act of creation; which has given rise to the puerile story above related.

The neighbouring cave, southwards, is a fine arched one, containing the *Dehgop;* similar to what we see in the arched excavations of *Karli* and *Kanari*, but ornamented with a Bauddha image like some of those at *Ajanta;* and known from this as the *Chaitya*, or type of the five *Dhyani Buddhas*. The balcony in front of this fine cave was no doubt intended as a music gallery, on occasions of festival; and the cistern of water, on the eastern side of it, with the several cells in the neighbouring rock, shews it was a favorite residence of the Bauddha priests. Besides the larger image, sculptured in front of the *Dehgop*, there are several smaller sitting figures around, as usual in the Chaityas of Nepal. The excavation is known by the name of the *Viswa-karma*, or architect's cave. Between this and the caves called *Dehreh-wara*, or the outcasts quarter, are the flat roofed excavations containing cells for the priests attached to the *Visva-karma* temple. The central one of the *Dehreh-wara* group, about one hundred and sixteen feet long by fifty-six broad, contains numerous cells, and several images of *Buddha*. The roof is supported by two rows of pillars, parallel and within which two raised stone benches run down the middle of the cave; and were intended as seats for the younger branches or scholars of the Bauddha fraternity that occupied this monastic establishment. Immediately south of the large cave, there is another smaller flat roofed one, containing twelve cells and a *linga;* which is a marked indication that the occupants of these excavations, at the time of their execution, were not agreed as to the best manner of representing the power and energy of the Creator. All remarks, regarding the period when such differences of opinion arose, will be best reserved for the last chapter, when the facts for the validity of the conclusions have been presented to the reader.

IX.— *Caves of Badami.*

These caves, three in number, are situated below the hill fort of Badami, which is a considerable town on the Mallapahari, or Malparba river, forming part of the Belgaum Collectorate, and distant from Kaladghi about twenty-eight miles. The material out of which the excavations have been formed is a hard variegated sandstone, composing the hilly ranges in this part of the country; on one of which the upper fort of Badami has been built. On the opposite side of the town and lower fortification, several Hindu temples of great antiquity are to be seen; and the tank and temple of Banshankari, in the immediate neighbourhood, constitute places of pilgrimage in considerable repute, where an annual jatra, or fair, is held in the month of May. In a Kanarese inscription on one of the pillars in the caves, the date is called *Nakula Hala Navakala Mritana Ghaya** 1476, नाकुलहाल नवकालमृतनगय १४७६, or the new date of *Hala Hala* the name for Bud-

* *Ghaya*, instead of *Gaya*, is found written in the original of the inscription; which is in the *Grantha* or Malabar character of the *Sanskrita;* and exhibits the change from *this* to the *Hala Kanara* character, or oldest alphabet of the Kanarese; which may have derived its name from the circumstance of having been first used by the *Bauddhas* or *Jainas*. The words *Nakula Hala* नाकुलहाल may be only a provincialism for the Sanskrit Nakuhala नाकुलहाल or the deity *Hala Buddha*, an appellation also employed to designate *kalivahana*, considered, by the Jainas, a form of Buddha. See Mr. Taylor's Analysis of the *Chola purva Patayam*, or ancient Chola record written in Tamil, of which the abstract will be found in the Madras Journal of Literature for April 1838, page 278; and a report of the same work may be seen in Wilson's Mackenzie Collection, Vol. 1 page 184. But *Nakula*, in Pali means internal tranquillity; and the compound term *Nakula-hald* admits, therefore, of being translated *the emancipated hald*. The words *Mritana Gaya*, (dying at Gaya,) appear to refer to *Gautama*. Mr. Turnour, in his examination of the Pali Buddhistical Annals, (Prinsep's Journal, VII, page 798,) states that, at the termination of a thousand years, an omniscient Buddha will be born in the world, and that the period is called *Buddha Hala halan*, (Buddha tumult), and little doubt can exist of the era here intended.

dha, or a Jaina saint. The date is probably intended for a new adaptation of the era of *Buddha Sakya*, B. C. 543, and, if so, would therefore give the date of these caves A. D. 933, which is confirmed by Mr. Wathen's translation of a copperplate inscription, granting a village to certain *Brahmans* for the maintenance of an *Agraharam*; * and which copperplate was in the possession of the late Mr. Munroe, First Assistant to Mr. Thackeray, the Collector of Dharwar.† The Agrahar is described, in the copperplate grant, to be bounded, on the west, by the tank of *Kaddaki Hanumant*, near the *Mallapahari*; and north-west by the temple of Maruti, (Hanuman) on the road to the *Nawalatirtha*, near a hill bordering upon the Mallapahari. The grant is dated Saka 1008, A. D. 1087. The above seems sufficiently convincing, that the place, alluded to by the copperplate grant, is the same as the one mentioned in the inscription from the pillar of the caves; and establishes their existence at the date of the latter, supposing this to be the *Bauddha* era, and that it cannot be otherwise intended for that of *Salivahana*.

The general style of the sculpture is the same as at Ellora, and appears to represent the same mythology. The recess in each of the caves contains a linga, while the figures on the walls are chiefly those of *Vishnu*, in the *Varaha*, *Vamana*, and *Narasinha avatars*. The first cave, situated as we ascend the pathway leading up to the fort, is about thirty-six feet square, and its roof supported by sixteen pillars. In one end of the verandah we see a four-armed statue of *Maheswara* accompanied by the *Nandi*; while a skeleton figure, with folded hands, is standing on the right, and his wife *Parvati* on the left. In his upper right hand he holds the Purusha‡ पुरुष or serpent staff, the type of his male power as creator of the universe; and at the opposite end of the same verandah is another statue similarly armed, but holding in the upper left hand the Sankha, (shell), the emblem of *Vishnu*, and indicating that *Maheswara* is here acknowledged in his double character of being the creator and preserver of the universe. The tripod, below the latter figure, is sculptured with the usual curly headed figures of *Maheswara's Gana*, (attendants;) and most of the pillars are elegantly fluted. The roof every where is sculptured with a variety of figures; one of which in a square represents the bust of a man, whose head is overshadowed by the five hooded snake, whilst his body takes its origin from the coiled serpent *Sesha*, the same as Vishnu who supports the universe. A sculpture of *Parvati*, transfixing the demon *Mahesasur*, may be seen in a recess, on the right hand side of of the vestibule.

The second cave, which is nearly of the same extent as the former and immediately above it, contains fourteen pillars, and has a vestibule, or verandah in front. At the right hand end of the last may be seen an eight-armed figure of *Vishnu*, hurling *Bali* from heaven with his left outstretched leg, while his foot is placed on the breast of the falling figure. He is here armed with some of the instruments considered peculiar to *Maheswara*; and, along with the *Chakra*, (discus,) and Sankha, (shell), his own particular symbols, he bears the sword in one of his right hands, and the winged serpent staff, (*Purusha*), in one of his left. A variety of smaller figures are seen surrounding his statue; one of them being represented carrying an umbrella, and another a watering pot, having reference probably to his royal character, and that of his consort or *Sakti*, *Lakshmi*; who appears to be considered a form of water, and is therefore represented seated on the lotus, while two elephants are pouring water over her. At the opposite end of the vestibule, *Vishnu*, in the *Varaha avatar*, supports on his left hand a female, or *Prithvi* (the earth;) and has at his feet a human figure, whose head is overshadowed by the hooded snake *Ananta*, and from which the bust of the figure is seen rising. The third cave is considerably larger than the others; and its roof is supported by twenty-two pillars. It is nearly sixty feet by thirty-two in extent; and has a recess, in which there is a tripod, or *yoni*, from which the *linga* appears to have been removed. On the right hand side of the vestibule of this cave, we find an eight-armed figure of *Vishnu*, with outstretched leg and foot as in the former cave, but here armed with the bow and sceptre, in addition to the other instruments of power already mentioned. In another compartment near by, he is sculptured in the *Narasinha avatar*; and, at the opposite end, is seen seated on the serpent *Ananta*, (eternity,) whose heads overshadow him. The roof of this excavation is elegantly sculptured, and has been, at one time, painted. A canopy overhangs the vestibule, where a grotesque figure of *Garura*, the eagle of *Vishnu*, is found among the sculptures.

* A place for Brahman anchorites.

† See Journal, R. A. S. Vol. V. p 173.

‡ If the reader refers to notes *first* and *second* of pages *seventh* and *eighth*, in the present work, he will see that *Purush* is the male inactive principle of the Sankhya philosophy, and which, when united with the goddess of nature *Prakriti*, assumes as *Siva* the triple qualities of *creator*, *preserver* and *destroyer*. The date of the *Shekawati* (in Rajpootana) inscription is Samvat 1018. A. D 962; and as this *Saiva* temple was dedicated to *Siva* under the name of *Harsha*, in consequence of the joyous tidings to the gods that he had destroyed the *Tripura Asur*, this would appear to be the period about which the Saiva and Vishnava faiths became popular in Hindustan. The eighth verse of the inscription states that the Saiva faith destroyed even him of the incomparable arrows, (*Kama*,) or *Cupid*, whose worship before this time appears to have been a popular form of belief, particularly in the west India. (See Prinsep's Journal, Vol. IV. p. 373.

X. — *Excavations of Mahamalaiapur.*

It would be useless to enumerate the various other remains of *Bauddha* and *Jaina* sculpture, which may be found throughout India, as the general character of such conforms to the two classes of excavations just described: but some short notice of the monolithic temples and caves of *Mahamalaiapur*, situated in the most Southern part of India, may not be unimportant, as an appendix to this account of the western caves; particularly as the sculptures found there are illustrative of the period when faith in *Vishnu*, *Krishna*, and *Siva*, spread from the north into the south of India, and succeeded the prevailing religion of *Buddha*. I may therefore briefly notice them, by selecting the most worthy points of observation, contained in the accounts of these sculptures, by Chambers, Goldingham and Dr. Babington.*

The situation of these antique remains is on the sea shore, about thirty-eight miles southwards from Madras. Adjoining the stone Pagoda, serving as a landmark for shipping, and delineated in plate XI, of Dr. Babington's drawings, there is an excavation in the rock, whose roof is supported by columns, not unlike those of the cave at *Elephanta*, in the neighbourhood of Bombay. This appears to be usually called the *Krishna Mandapam*, described by Mr. Goldingham, in his third paragraph; near which is another more spacious excavation, said to be used as a place of shelter for travellers. A rock, fronting the entrance to these, presents a scene of sculpture representing the deity *Krishna*, (Apollo Nomios,) attending the herds of *Ananda*; in which is a gigantic figure of the god, attended by a group of female cowherds, or *Gopalas*, whose dress, as Dr. Babington remarks, resembles that now worn by the *Nayris* and *Tirtis* of Malabar. The men wear turbans and the women large ear rings; and one group among the figures presents a man playing on the flute for the diversion of the company. An admirable drawing of the whole may be seen in plate II, of the sculptures.

In his way up the rock, and passing the raised slab of stone, called the *Sinhasan* of *Dharma Raja*, the visitor descends over immense beds of stone, and arrives at a spacious excavation, dedicated to *Siva*, the central compartment of which contains a sculptured figure of this god, attended by his consort *Parvati*, and two other figures on *Kailasa* supported by the *Nandi*. At one end of this temple is a gigantic figure of *Vishnu*, sleeping on the serpent *Sesha*; and at the opposite end *Parvati*, mounted on her lion, is destroying the demon Mahesasur,† as seen in the sculptures of Ellora and Badami. The sculptured image of *Vishnu* sleeping, is attended by three figures, represented in the attitude of grief and meditation; and presents a remarkable similarity of design, and execution, to that of the fabled sleep of the Egyptian Horus, (Apollo,) who is sculptured, in the temples of that country, sleeping on a couch formed by a lion, instead of the serpent as here. Mr. Patterson,‡ in his remarks on the origin of the Hindu religion, notices this analogy between the Indian and Egyptian sculptures, and seems to think that it refers to the retiring of the waters of the Ganges, after the rainy season, and the period of *Vishnu's* sleeping, during the four months of clouds and rain previous to this time.

About a mile further south, the visitor comes to the five monolithic temples, called *Rathas*, or sacred vehicles; some of which are about forty feet in height, by thirty in breath. The most southerly of these structures, on the northern, eastern, southern, and western faces, is ornamented with various figures; which, from the inscriptions above their heads, have chiefly reference to the forms of *Vishnu* and his *Sakti*. Dr. Babington has given a drawing of these figures, in plate XVI; and among them, No. IV is called *the firm in faith — the beautiful as Kama deva — the agent* — a name of Vishnu. This figure bears on its head the crescent moon similar to that on the reverse of the Mithraic, or Ard-okro series of coins;§ from the Manikyala monument, and commonly found in the countries of Afghanistan and the Panjab; which bear undoubted indications of their connexion with the worship of the sun.

In concluding this account of the various excavations of western India, I may venture a remark, that, while the more primitive and simple Bauddha structures have exclusive reference to the discipline and moral part of this religious system, or the worship of the sun, the sculptures of the second class of caves convey constant allusions to the origin of the world from water; but which, agreeably to the Puranic cosmography of the Brahmans, is raised up as a female by Vishnu in the form of a boar. The earliest and

* Asiatic Researches, vol. I. page 145, and vol. V. page 69. also Trans. R. A. S. vol. II. page 258.

† See Dr. Babington's plates III and IV.

‡ Asiatic Researches, Vol. VIII. page 73.

§ See plate of coins, No. 20.

atheistical school of Bauddha philosophy, while it admits fire, water, and wind, as the three causes of the world's destruction, acknowledges the second only as the cause of its reproduction; endowing matter with natural energy to produce the evolution of things from a great void, or elemental state of chaos, called *Maha Sunyata*; * but describes *that* water, in which the last world was dissolved, as gradually decreasing, until from its sediment arise the four great islands, with mount Meru in their centre; and in the same order and symmetry as the world previously destroyed. Some of the former class, as proved by the dates of inscriptions, were constructed as early as the second century, B. C.; but, as the sculptured figures in others are conformable to the mythology of the Puranas, wherein Buddha is made the ninth incarnation of Vishnu, we are not disposed to date their construction earlier than the eighth or ninth centuries of the Christian era: when the doctrines of Sankara Acharya gave rise to the present popular form of Hindu worship, as exhibited in the compilation of the Puranas; which Professor H. H. Wilson, with well founded opinion, considers to be not more ancient than the time here assigned for the origin of such excavations as Ellora, Elephanta, Badami, and Mahamalaiapur. But the more extended series of facts, developed in subsequent chapters, will enable us to deduce more certain conclusions on this subject; and to arrange in historical connexion the various classes of Bauddha monuments existing throughout India.

* Mr. Hodgson's quotations in proof of the Swabhavika doctrine, or atheistical system, No. 4 in Prinsep's Journal, Vol. V. p. 72. and Sangermano's Burmese Empire, translated by Tandy, p. 28, par. 33.

CHAPTER II.

Bauddha opinions and religious tenets in various Countries.

General principles of the Bauddha religion.

Prior to the publication of Mr. Hodgson's Essays, on Nepal Buddhism, * much obscurity revailed in the different accounts of this religious system; rendered yet more unintelligible by European authors having blended the physical and moral parts of it, so as to leave little distinction between, what relates to the nature of a first cause, giving origin to the world; and what to the vital and human soul, produced for the expiation of sin, or to raise man above the power of the passions, and the influence of corporeal impressions; till, in a spirit of philosophy, and true knowledge, (the γνῶσις τῶν ὄντων of Pythagoras,) he had reached that perfection which assimilates him with Divinity. To clearly comprehend the subtle speculations, and over refined metaphysics, of this religion, it is necessary to remember that its anthropology, which had its origin with *Gautama*, or *Sakya Sinha*, presents a series of the same human degradation and regeneration, as is observable in the periodical revolutions of the physical world. Each of the Bauddha schools teaches, that, at the expiration of long periods of time, this world is destroyed and reproduced; and that the living creatures of former worlds, who had not yet fully expiated their sins by abstraction of the mind, and mortification of the body, dying in the *Abhassara-brahma-loka*, one of the celestial mansions, and scene of mortal transmigration, return to each new world; deprived of the natural effulgence which prevented them from being affected by corporeal perceptions, or by the influence of passion and a spirit of discord.† The Suttans, (aphorisms,) of Ceylon, and the scriptures of Nepal, relative to the origin of mankind seem uniform in their accounts; describing generative creation as a degradation, by successive emanations, and maintaining opinions similar to the *Theosophes* of some among the Christian Gnostics; who paid continual attention to the state of the soul, by meditation on the divinity, as being the source of inexhaustible love. Their science, according to Clemens of Alexandria, consisted of two parts: of which the *first* was occupied with divine things, considering the first cause by which all had been made, and without which nothing that is, can exist: examining the essence which penetrates and unites one substance with another; while they sought to discover the powers of nature and asked to what end they tended. The *second* part treated of human things, of the condition of man, of his nature, and what he ought to do and suffer; here examining his vices and virtues, and the means by which happiness could be attained.‡

Bauddha Sectaries how designated.

The *Bauddhas* or *Saugatas*, as followers of *Buddha* or *Sugata*, are frequently called *Nastikas*, or atheists, being disowners of another world; and the terms *Jina* or *Arhata*, importing the subjugation of passion, are used to designate the *Jainas*. The last, in reference to the nakedness of one class, are denominated *Digambaras*, while the less strict sect, "clad in white," are named *Swetambaras*. *Buddha Muni*, or *Gautama*, the reputed founder of the Bauddha sect, is the author of *Sutras* (aphorisms,) constituting the body of his doctrine, termed *Agama*; which, from different constructions of the text, has given rise to four schisms or schools, called the Madhyamika, Yogacharya, Sautrantika, and Vaibashika.§ The same division of these sectaries, as known

* Mr. Hodgson's various papers, A. R. Vol. XVI. p. 421,—T. R. A. S. Vol. II, p. 222, and Prinsep's Journal, Vols. III and V.

† Sangermano, from Burmese authority, regarding the felicity and misery of beings that live in this world, states that the Bauddhas say, at the death of a man, animal, or other living being, the soul perishes together with the body; but then, from this complete dissolution another individual springs, which will be man, or beast, or Nat, (celestial spirits,) according to the merits or demerits of the actions done by its predecessor during life. Through this successive series of dissolutions and regenerations, all beings go on, for the duration of one or more worlds; till, at length, they have performed such works as render them worthy of the state of Niban, (nirvan,) which is the most perfect of all states; or one of quiescence as before explained. Sangermano's Description of the Burmese Empire, Chapter III, para. 6; also Mr. Turnour's Translation of the *Agganna* Suttan of Ceylon; and Mr. Hodgson on Buddhism. Trans. R. A. S. Vol. II p. 235.

‡ These characteristic opinions among the *Christian Gnostics*, to be met with in Clementis Alexandrini Stromatum, Lib. Sept. have been thus embodied by M. Jacques Matter, in his Historie Critique du Gnosticisme, Tome second, page 98. Clemens says, "Dei ergo cultus est continua animæ cura qui est præditus cognitione, et ejus perpetua in Deo occupatio per charitatem, qui nunquam intermittitur. Cultus non qui versatur circa res hominum, unus quidem est qui reddit meliores: alius vero, qui in ministerio occupatur: medicina quidem corpus, philosophia vero animam reddit meliorem. Clementis Alexandrini Opera Græce et Latine a Frederico Sylburgio, fol. 700.

§ Mr. Colebrooke on the Philosophy of Indian Sectaries, Trans. R. A. S. vol. I. p. 558.

to the Brahmanical opponents of their doctrines, exists in the Buddhism of Tibet,* and appears not to be materially different from the four leading schools of Nepal, as explained by Mr. Hodgson. In as far as we can now judge, the identity of opinions among Bauddhas, in various countries, may be admitted; and we need not hesitate to express our belief that this religion is a uniform system spreading from a common source, however it may seem to vary, by minor differences of tenets, among particular people. It possesses too a body of religious literature; which, whether in Ceylon, Burmah, Nepal, Tibet, China, or Japan, seems identical in its general principles; being more vulgar or refined, atheistical, or theistical, according to the standard of speculative opinion among its followers. In China, Ceylon, and Burmah, the atheistical system seems prevalent, while in Nepal the theistical is generally accepted, and is also acknowledged in Tibet.

Appellations of the Jainas of like import as those of the Bauddhas, and the principles which distinguished the primitive followers of these sects.

The appellation of *Arhatas*, (saints) by which the more ancient of the Jaina sect appear to have been known, seems applicable to such of the *Digambara* teachers as were deified by their followers; and who, except in some minor points of doctrine, recognizing *jiva*(life,) or *manas* (the sentient soul,) distinct from *Parmatma*† (supreme intelligence,) and admitting *akasa* (ether,) as the fifth element, were in no respect to be distinguished from the *Bauddhas*, or followers of *Gautama*. Like the Christian Gnostics and followers of *Saturnine*, they distinguished the *Bodh-atma*, (intelligent soul,) or the πνευμα and νους, spirit and intelligence, from the *Chaitana Atma* or ψυχὴ ζωτικὴ ‡ (the sentient soul.) Mr. Colebrooke draws the conclusion that the *Sarmanes*, distinguished from the *Brachmanes* by Clemens Alexandrinus, in the end of the second century of our era, were the Gymnosophists of the Indians; an appellation that seems to him more applicable to the sect of *Jina* than that of *Buddha*, who is said to be the author of distinct precepts, and worshipped as a god, on account of his distinguished virtue.§ It does indeed appear that the *Jainas* are particularly meant; and that the sect here intended were the *Digambaras*, who are also called Allobi, अलोभि (exempt from passion,) and are so named by Col. Miles in his account of this religion. But both sects, who appear to have lived together as people of one religion, are indiscriminately called *Arhatas* and *Sramanas*; and among the followers of Buddha those who have obtained superior proficiency in *Bodhijnan*, (divine knowledge) and are segregated from the the community of monks, are styled *Arhans*; while the rest of the congregation are divided into different degrees of proficiency, and named *Bhikshu*, *Sravaka*, and *Chailaka*. The laity of the Jains engaged in secular employment, and obeying the precepts of their scriptures, without practising ascetical devotion, are called *Sravakas*; one of the appellations for a *Bauddha* proficient. Their priests too are the *Saddhus*, (saints) and the *Yatis*, or secular instructors. The former denomination is of similar meaning as *Arhat*, corrupted in Burmah into *Rahatan*, and applied to designate members of the monastic fraternity generally; while in Nepal the same class are called *Bandyas*, and in China *Bonzes*. The general principles of agreement in opinion between the *Bauddhas* and *Jainas*, disavowing the divine origin of the *Vedas*, and appealing rather to reason than to revelation, or authority, accompanied by a tender regard for the preservation of animal life,

* Notices of different systems of Buddhism, from Tibet authorities, by Alex. Csoma Korosi. Prinsep's Journal, Vol. VII. 142.

† Mr. Colebrooke on the Nyaya or dialectic school of Hindu philosophy, Trans. R. A. S. Vol. II. p. 90, and again on the Bauddha sectaries at page 550; also Delamaine on the Jains, page 416 of the same volume. It appears from the analysis of the Kahgyur, by Professor H. H. Wilson and Alex. Csoma Korosi, that the *Prajna Paramita*, or transcendental wisdom of Tibet, like the Karmika system of Buddhism in Nepal, teaches the existence of the *Shad Ayatan*, or seats of the six senses, admitting *manas* as the sixth, and recognizing *Akasa*, (ether,) as the fifth element, which though reckoned by the *Nyayikas*, was disputed by the *Baudhas*, and even by the most primitive *Jains*, if Mr. Colebrooke's exposition of their doctrines be correct. See Prinsep's Journal, Vol. I. p. 377. Mr. Hodgson's quotations in proof of his authority on Buddhism; Prinsep's Journal, Vol. V. p. 80, and Trans. R. A. S. Vol. I. p. 551.

‡ Historie critique Du Gnosticisme, et de son influence, sur les sectes religieuses et philosophiques des six premiers siecles de l'ere chretienne Vol. I. p. 281; and Colebrooke on the Jains, Trans. R. A. S. Vol. I. p. 551.

§ Mr. Colebrooke, in his account of the Jains, has overlooked one passage of Clemens, that more clearly distinguishes them from the Buddhists than the one he has quoted. It makes particular mention of the *Dehgop*, or pyramidal altar covering the bones of Buddha. "Brachmanes certe neque animatum comedunt, neque vinum bibunt: sed aliqui quidem ex iis quotidie, sicut nos, cibum capiunt, nonnulli autem ex iis tertio quoque die, ut Alexander Polyhistor in lib. de rebus Indicis. Mortem autem contemnunt, et vivere nihili faciunt; credunt enim esse regenerationem: aliqui autem colunt Herculem et Panem. Qui autem ex Indis vocantur Σεμνοι, id est *honesti* ac *venerandi*, nudi totam vitam transigunt. Ii veritatem exercent, et futura prædicunt, et colunt *quandam pyramidem*, sub qua existimant alicujus Dei ossa reposita. Neque vero Gymnosophistæ, nec qui dicuntur Σεμνοι, id est *venerandi*, utuntur mulieribus: hoc enim proper naturam et iniquum esse existimant: qua de causa seipsos castos conservant. Virgines autem sunt etiam mulieres quæ dicuntur Σεμναι. Videntur autem observare cœlestias et per eorum significationem quædam futura predicere." The *Greek* appellation Σεμνοι, used in the above passage is like the *Pali Sumana*, meaning an ascetic, or devotee, and the same as the Sanskrit *Sramana*.

have been pointed out in the preceding pages; and we are now prepared to consider the extent and quality of the religious literature, possessed by both sects.

Religious literature of the Bauddhas.

The character of Bauddha religious literature, in all countries where the faith prevails, seems uniform; and the works composing it, whether written in *Sanskrit*, *Pali*, or *Tibetan*, detail the rites, metaphysical opinions, morals, and traditions of the same national belief. In Tibet it is comprised in two extensive compilations, the *Kah-gyur* and *Stan-gyur*, or *translated commands* and *translated instructions*; and, regarded as a *translation* of religious treatises, is not of later date than the ninth century * of our era; but, as a *collection*, of not earlier date than A. D. 1728 and 1746, between which periods it was printed by Mivang, the Regent of Lassa, in ninety-eight volumes, accompanied by a supplementary volume of miscellaneous matter. The *Stan-gyur*, yet more extensive, consists of two hundred and twenty-four volumes; embracing treatises on natural philosophy, astronomy, alchemy, medicine, and grammar, with tracts on religious rites, prayers and charms. The former however, bearing relation to the scriptures in Ceylon, Burmah, Nepal, and other countries, are now to be compared; and our task is here rendered easy, through the assistance of Mr. Turnour,† who has, in part, so well performed this comparison, and laid under obligations the learned world for much useful information regarding this religion as explained in the books of Ceylon. The Tibetan sacred books of the *Kah-gyur* are, sometimes, stated to be a compilation, consisting of a hundred volumes, divided into three classes; viz. the *Dulva*, or discipline, in thirteen volumes, the *Sher-chin*, or philosophical doctrine, in twenty one volumes; and the *Do-de*, aphorisms or tracts, embracing opinions on natural philosophy, theology, and astronomy, in thirty volumes. Besides these, are the *Phal-ch'hen*, or Bauddha community, in six volumes; the *Kon-seks*, or pile of precious things, in six volumes; the *Myang-das*, or an account of *Sakyasinha's* attainment of *Nirvan*, or spiritual quiescence, in two volumes; and the *Gyut*, corresponding to the *Tantrika* system of the Hindus, the mystical system of charms and incantations, in twenty-two volumes; thus forming altogether a compilation of one hundred. The scriptures in Ceylon, and in Burmah, which are written in *Pali*, are divided into three classes, the *Vinaya*, or discipline; *Abhidhammo*, or supreme moral doctrine; and the *Suttans*, or aphorisms and tracts. The whole collectively are called the *Pitaka-taya*, or three vessels; and the commentary on these, originally written in *Singalese*, and translated into *Pali* between A. D. 410 and 432, is named the *Attha-katha*; and was carried, into Burmah, by its compiler *Buddhagheso*, who propagated this religion in the latter century. The three *Pitakas* of Ceylon, correspond generally with the *Dulva*, the *Sher-chin*, and *Do-de* classes of Tibet; and are sometimes there alluded to under the name of *De-not-sum*, or the three repositories.‡ The Burmese copies of these Ceylon scriptures were nearly all translated, by Sangermano, and were embodied in his account of the superstition, astrology, and religion of that people.

Compilation of the Buddha scriptures, at different times, and in various places.

These books of the Buddhists were compiled at three different times, and in three different places of ancient India, during the assemblies of the priesthood, convoked after the death of Sakya, for discussing and establishing the principles of his religion. The first convocation, which was held at *Rajagriha* in Bahar, and at this time the capital of the *Magadha monarch*, *Ajata Satru*, is generally fixed in the eighth year of his reign immediately after the death of *Gautama*. The head of the five hundred superior Bauddha monks was at this time *Maha Kasyapa*, who directed, it is said, the compilation of his master's doctrines; and employed *Upali*, one of his disciples, to compose the *Dulva*, or *Vinaya*, on the subject of discipline. The scriptures of Ceylon and Tibet harmonize in their accounts of the number of priests selected on this occasion, for the discussion of the doctrines of *Dhammo*, (*Dharma*,) and the principles which were to regulate *Vinaya*. It does not appear quite clear whether the succeeding compilation, by *Ananda*, of the *Do*, or *Sautranta* class, was effected at the same time, or during the second convocation, which was held at *Vaisali*, (the modern Allahabad,) in the tenth year of the reign of the Magadha monarch, *Kalasoko*, B. C. 443, and about a century after the death of the founder of this religion. Certain it is, however, that all accounts agree in assigning the compilation of the *Sher-chin*, or philosophical doctrines, to *Maha Kasyapa* himself, who could not, in all probability, have lived to the second convocation; and it is natural to conclude that whatever alterations or explanations of *Sakyas* doctrines may have arisen at the second and third convocation, the three divisions of them were generally acknowledged and established at the first. The *Sher-chin*, otherwise

* Prinsep's Journal for January 1832, page 1; where there is an analysis of the Dulva by Alex. Csoma De Koros.

† Prinsep's Journal, Vol. VI. p. 502.

‡ Sangermano names them the three *Kiam*, enumerating them as the *Vini*, *Padimot*, and *Sottam*. Tandy's translation, preface page V. published for the Oriental Translation Fund.

called *Manoon*, *Abhidharma*, or *Prajna Paramita*,* is mentioned, in A. D. 1247, by the Mohammedan author of the *Jami-al-Tawarikh*; who, enumerating the Indian sectaries at this time, seems particularly to distinguish the followers of *Sakya-Sinha*, from the sect of *Arahnat*, (Arahantas or saints,) and states that his book is known by the name of *Abdharm*.† The third compilation of the scriptures was prepared at *Pataliputra*, (the ancient *Palibothra*, and modern *Patna*,) in the seventeenth year of the reign of *Dharma Asoka*, during the third convocation of the Bauddha priesthood, which Mr. Turnour fixes B. C. 242.‡ The Ceylon annals relate that the whole of the scriptures were preserved, through a long line of *Sakyas disciples*, exclusively by memorial inspiration; and that there was no inscribed record of this religion, till the reign of the Ceylon monarch *Wattagamini*, who reigned from B. C. 104 to 76. It is there stated that this religion, which had been orally promulgated, in Ceylon, by the inspired disciple *Makindo*, son of the Emperor *Dharma Asoka*; and, which had been also perpetuated by the priesthood, was at this time first recorded in books; but to this assertion the rock inscribed edicts of the Emperor *Dharma Asoka*, and the Sanskrit original of the *Prajna Paramita*, if such be not comparatively modern, would appear to offer a contradiction.

Agreement of the Nepal scriptures with those of Ceylon, Tibet, and Burmah.

In *Nepal* the Bauddha scriptures are enumerated as the *Nava Dharma*, or nine bodies of righteousness; of which the first *Prajna Paramita*, and eighth *Lalita Vistara*, seem to correspond generally with compendiums of the same works, met with in *Tibet* and *Ceylon*. But, in the latter country, the popular representations of Bauddha metaphysical speculation, or the *Sutra* form, (preceptive aphorisms,) of the *Prajna Paramita*, have been embodied in the *Attha Katha*, or commentary; along with the *Lalita Vistara*, called the *Jatakan* portion of the work; and which has exclusive reference to the history of *Sakya Sinha*, and his various transmigrations, previous to attaining supreme Buddhahood. The twenty first and last volume of the *Sher-chin* of Tibet appears to be a summary form, or miscellany of Sakyas doctrines; and comprises eighteen different treatises of the class of *Sutras*, explanatory of the principles of this religion, taught in the preceding volumes.§

Nothing but a complete translation of the original *Prajna Paramita* could enable one to speak decisively of its purport, and relative bearing to the Tibetan copy of the *Khandas*, or sections, of the *Raksha Bhagavati* of Nepal; but the similar division of both works, according to the number of stanzas embraced in each, and that the five different sections of the Tibet scriptures appear to have a corresponding enumeration as those of Nepal, mentioned by Mr. Hodgson, cannot pass without remark. The nine divisions of the whole Bauddha scriptures, known in Nepal, are equally recognized by the *Attha-Katha* of Ceylon, and called the nine Angas; which in Pali, are the *Suttan*, *Geyyan*, *Weyyakaran*, *Gatha*, *Udanan*, *Ittuvattakan*, *Jatakan*, *Abbhutadhammo*, and the *Wedattam*, being identically those of the Sanskrit *Sutras*,|| *Geyas*, *Vyakarana*, *Gathas*, *Udan*, *Ityukta*, *Jataka*, *Abbhuta-Dharma*, and the *Avadan* of the Nepal scriptures. The *Sutras*, on the authority of Csomo de Koros, are in general all the works of the *Kahgyur*, excepting the *Sher-chin*, and *Gyut*, or *Tantrika* portion; and were written in the *Sindhu*, or *Pali* language, while the latter were composed in *Sanskrit*.¶ This admission of an historical fact may perhaps account for the

* This portion of the scriptures is otherwise named *Arya Bhagavati Prajna Paramita*: the two first words implying the *venerable goddess*, or epithets applied to *Prajna*, *wisdom or understanding*, by which life is traversed, and emancipation obtained, are allusive to transcendental wisdom, or the discrimination of mystical philosophy; which are the meanings of *Prajna Paramita*, as rendered by Professor H. H. Wilson in his Analysis of the Kahgyur.

† Part of the Jami-al-Tawarikh is in the Library of the Oriental Translation Committee of London; and the abridgement of it called the *Tarikhi Binakiti*, was made use of by Ferishta, in compiling the information given, in his account of ancient India, at the commencement of his Mohammedan history.

‡ See his examination of the Pali Annals. Prinsep's Journal, Vol. p. 725.

§ The curious reader may consult, on this subject, the Analysis of the Kahgyur, at page 375 of Prinsep's Journal, for 1832; and Mr. Hodgson, on the Bauddhas of Nepal, in the Asiatic Researches, Vol: XVI. page 427.

|| Mr. Hodgson informs us that the *Sutras*, in Nepal, are the principal scriptures, (Mula Grantha,) and are equivalent to the *Vedas* of the *Brahmans*. The *Geyas* are works, in praise of the *Buddhas* and *Bodhisatwas*, composed in modulated language; but the Ceylon books say that these embrace every *Sutra*, (aphorism,) composed in *Gatha*, (metre.) *Vyakaranas* are narrative works, or histories of Sakyas several births, prior to his becoming *Nirvan*; but the Ceylon *Attha Katha* states that these consist of the whole of the *Abhidhammo Pitaka*, the *Sutras* not composed in verse, and the words of *Buddha* not classified under the other eight *Angas*. The *Gathas* are moral tales, relating to the Buddhas; of which the *Lalita Vistara* is acknowledged as one. The *Udan* in Nepal is said to be a dialogue between a Bauddha instructor and his disciple; while, in the Ceylon books, this work is said to be *Sutras* delivered by Buddha in the form of inspired hymns. *Ityukta* comprehends whatever is spoken in conclusion of, and reference to, some former discourse; commencing with the words, " It was thus said by Bhagava." The *Jataka* treat of the actions of former births, and comprise the five hundred and fifty incarnations of *Buddha*. The *Abbhuta Dharma* relates to preternatural events, embracing the miracles and wondrous works of pious persons belonging to the Bauddha religion.

¶ Prinsep's Journal, Vol. VI. page 686.

Kumarila Bhatta, who is generally considered to have ben the instigator of the persecution of the Bauddhas, by the Hindu

more popular and atheistical form of the Bauddha religion prevailing in Ceylon, while a more refined and theistical system has become popular in Nepal. The more ancient Bauddha religion, consisting of *Gautama's Sutras*, may have been remodelled, and generally written in *Sanskrit*, previous to their introduction into *Tibet* and *Nepal*; but our knowledge of a fact, that the *Tantrika* portion of the Bauddha scriptures, and *Dharanis* (short incantations,) of *Nepal* and *Tibet*, assimilate Buddhism there, more closely with the mysterious rites of the *Saiva Margis*, (followers of Siva,) than with the system of the same religion in Ceylon, Barmah, China, and the eastward, would seem to strengthen Mr Turnour's opinion, on a question of controversy between him and Mr Hodgson, that the body of scriptures in Ceylon is more ancient than that now met with in Nepal.

Assimilation of the *Gyut*, or Tantrika portion of the Kahgyur, with the Saiva system of the Hindus.

The *Gyut*, or *Tantrika* portion of the *Kahgyur*, consisting as before mentioned of twenty two volumes, and usually ascribed, without much consistency, to *Sakya*, is said to have been introduced, from the north into India, during the tenth century of our era; and into Tibet, not before the eleventh, about which time it must have also extended to Nepal.* Its origin is unquestionably modern, as mention is made of *Mekka*, ; and the progress and decline of the Mohammedan religion are noticed in the form of a prophecy. The import of the male and female symbols, (Linga and Bhaga,) are also explained, and the *Mantras* of several *Hindu gods*——as *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, *Rudra*, *Kartikeya*, *Ganapati*, *Indra*, and *Maha Kala*, are given: thus associating this portion of the Bauddha scriptures of *Tibet* and *Nepal* with the *Saiva* system of the Hindus; which obtained currency about the time of *Sankara Acharya*, and is practically well illustrated by the Sculptures of Ellora and those of the second class of caves already noticed. The twenty first and twenty second volumes of this collection, give directions for the representation of the five *Dhyani Buddhas*, Vairochona† and the others, with their symbols, here indicating that the *theistical system of Buddhism*, which, in Nepal, acknowledges the first intellectual essence as *Adi Buddha*, must have received grafts from the reformed system of the *Hindu religion;* which made *faith* an essential element of its belief, and introduced the innumerable host of gods and goddesses, which now constitute its pantheon. Those authors who, from a very incomplete deduction of facts, if not from an imperfect knowledge of them, have come to the conclusion that the *Bauddha* system is of greater antiquity *than the Brahmanical*, will perhaps object to the above view of this question; but, while the *Bauddhas themselves* never doubt the superior antiquity of *Brahmanism*, it might be well that European authorities, opposed to them, should reconsider their opinions; more particularly as the *Pali Suttans*, of *Sakya Sinha*, are addressed by him to *Wasettho* and *Bharaddwajo*, two of the *seven Rishis*, or *Vasishta* and *Bharaddwaja* of the Brahmans; while Professors Mill, Burnouf, and Lassen, philosophically show that *Pali*, or the *Magadha Prakrit*, is an offshot from *Sanskrit*, like other vernacular Hindu dialects.

Extent of our knowledge, regarding Bauddha opinions, in China and Japan.

The industry of Deshauterayes, M. Abel Remusat, and our own countryman Mr. Davis, has enabled us to form a tolerably clear conception of the general principles of *Chinese Buddhism*; which are identical with those of this religion in other countries. Mr. Neumann's translation too, from Chinese, of the catechism of the *Shamans*,§ shows that the practical part of it, and its commandments are, in all respects, the same as elsewhere. This religion, called, in China, that of *Fo*, or *Fo-to*, (Indian terms signifying most pure,‡) was introduced from India, during the *sixty fifth year of our era*, and in the reign of *Ming-ty*, of the *Han* dynasty. From thence it passed into Japan; but our knowledge of it in the latter country is yet imperfect, notwithstanding the labours of M. Klaproth and others. The Bauddha era of China and Japan, instead of being reckoned, as in Ceylon, from the middle of the *sixth* century B. C. is thrown back to B. C. 1027. This period has been erroneously fixed by the chronologists of these countries; who, while they mention that the reigning monarch of *Magadha*, at the birth of *Sakya*, was *Ajatasvara*, (Ajatasutra,) have, on astronomical calculation, placed the event nearly five hundred years too early. The original name of his birth-place, *Kapila*, in the north of India, and near the sources of the Ganges, is preserved in Chinese under the appellation of *Kea-wae-wae*, and which the learned Remusat reads *Kea-wae-lo wae*, for *Keo-pi-lo*. The books of this religion, which are read and chanted in the Bauddha establishments of China, have been partly

Agni-Kulas in the end of the third century of our era, states that the Sakyas, (or Bauddhas) and Jainas, (or Arhatas,) were considered to be *Kshetriyas*. In his Vartika quoted, by Mr. Colebrooke, on the subject of *provincial* and *barbaric* dialects, he specifies the Parasika, Yavana, Raumaka, and Barbara, or Persian, Greek, Roman and barbarian tongues; and adds that the *Sakyas* and other heretics, do not use *Sanskrit*, but employ *Prakrit*. Trans. R. A. S. Vol. I. 454. p.

* See Analysis of the Kahgyur, in Prinsep's Journal, for 1832, page 386.

† See page 16 of this volume.

§ Published for the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain, 1831.

‡ In the subsequent translations of the cave inscriptions, it will be seen that this explanation of the terms, as given by M. Deguignes, is quite accurate; and that *Sakya Sinha* is there called in Pali, *Venpudatu*,— the giver of purifying knowledge.

translated, into the language of the country, from the originals in the *Pali*; and though we are yet without information on the extent of this religious literature, both in China and Japan, the principles of the faith have been sufficiently developed to show that they are the same as those prevalent in other countries. Many and various have been the embassies sent, from China into India, to procure the books and relics of Buddha; and even so late as the middle of the tenth century, three hundred *Shaman* priests were dispatched for this purpose by the Emperor Ki-en-ti, who founded the *Sung* dynasty. We may therefore presume that the Buddhism of China has been not more stationary than the same religion in the countries of its birth; and that, while the *atheistical form* of it is the prevailing one in China, the idea of a Supreme God, or *Adi-Buddha*, is not altogether unknown to the eastern Samaneans. The material, or atheistical system, appears to have been current during the Sung dynasty; though even then the learned adhered to that part of their ancient religion, which acknowledges a supreme and creative intelligence, under the name of *Tien*, or *Shang-te*.*

According to M. Remusat, the *six Buddhas*, who preceded *Sakya Sinha*, though not often mentioned in the Chinese books, are nevertheless known; and the three *honorable*, *adorable*, and *venerable* beings, or the trinity of Buddhas, the *Fo-to* (Buddha,) *Ta-ma*, (Dharma,) and *Sankya*, are invoked in the public worship. It was before remarked, that, by the *modified atheistical system* of this religion in Nepal, the power of inert matter, *Dharma*, *Prajna*, or *deified Nature*, is typified as a goddess; and the same can be no other than the goddess, *Kuan-yin*, (Kanya,) or virgin, who in her celestial character, or *Nanaia* of the *Ard-okro coins*, is the *Tien-how*, (the queen of heaven,) who is also called *Shing-moo*, (the holy mother,) or the *passive principle* and *power of conception*.† In this tenet of Buddhism some have been too anxious to perceive an amalgamation of the Christian faith, relative to the virgin, with the superstitious idolatry of China; but while I am disposed to admit that the errors of the *Manichean Christians*, who entered China, in the middle of the third century, were adopted by the followers of *Buddha* there, I am yet compelled to remark, that the worship of the *goddess of Nature* was an essential part of the philosophical principles, from which this religion had its origin,

Literature of the Jainas.

The literature of the *Jainas* consists of a collection of legends, to which, like the Brahmans they apply the name of *Puranas*. The speakers in these works are generally *Srenika Maharaj*, (Vimbasara,) and *Gautama*, the disciple of *Mahavira*; who appears to be the same as *Bhagava Kasyapa*, and predecessor of *Gautama*, among the *four last Buddhas*, who have appeared in the present *Kalpa*. These Puranas are eighteen in number, and were compiled, by *Jinasena Acharya*, the preceptor of *Raja Amogha versha*, whose reign, as already noticed, is not earlier than the begining of the tenth century. They embrace exaggerated traditions, regarding the lengthened lives of the twenty four *Tirthankaras*, and of the *emperors* and *kings* who have ruled over the *Jains*; including stories relative to *Parasurama*, *Ramachandra*, *Krishna*, and the *Pandava*, and *Kaurava princes*, heroes of the Puranic fiction; whose appearance here indicate the comparatively modern origin of such compilations. In addition to these Puranas, Jain literature embraces several legendary histories, called *Cheritras*, and ritual manuals of the aphorisms and discipline of the sect. Among the last the *Kalpa Sutra* is the one best known; having been the source from which Mr. Colebrooke derived his information regarding the tenets and practices of the *Jainas*, published in Volume ninth of the Asiatic Researches. The body of this literature has been only partially investigated; and a worthy subject of labour remains, for orientalists to show how far the earlier books of the sect can be identified with similar works among the Bauddhas. One of the former, a *Digambara* work, named *Buddha Vilasa*, and quoted by Major Delamaine, will probabbly be found similar to the *Madhuratha-velaseni*; which, as noticed by Mr. Turnour,‡ is part of the Ceylon *Atthakatha*, and contains the genealogy of the *twenty third Buddha*, and of all the *twenty four* who have ap-

* The Supreme Ruler; See Davis' description of the Chinese Empire, Vol II p. 73. M. Klaproth translates the above term "exalted of heaven."

† The coins obtained, from the Tope of *Manikyala*, in the Panjab, (See Prinsep's Journal Vol. III plate XXV,) have on the obverse an image of the *Sun* clad as a *Magus*, and, on the reverse, a female figure called *Nanaia*; the same as *Nanaa* of the Maccabees, or the *goddess* worshipped at Persepolis: (See Book III, Chap: I, V. 13, and Chap IX, V. 1—2,) The latter was the same as *Artemis*, or *Diana* of the Ephesians, regarded as the *moon goddess*. In her *physical character, she represented the* natural fecundity of the earth; and in her *astral one*, the moon, or the passive influence of the sun; and is hence called, on some of the coins, *Math*, or the *mother goddess*. She is thus alluded to, by Jeremiah; (Chap. VII 3, 17—: 18) "Seest thou not what they do in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem? The children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead their dough, to make cakes to the queen of heaven, and pour out drink offerings unto other gods, that they may provoke me to anger." According to Herodotus, (Clio CXXXI,) she was the Assyrian Venus, *Mylitta*, called by the Arabians *Alitta*, and the Persians *Mithra*; under which last name she appears on the reverses of several of the Manikyala coins.

‡ See Mr Turnour on the Pali Buddhistical annals, in Prinsep's Journal, Vol: VII. page 789: and Major I. Delamaine, on the Jains Trans: R. A. S. Vol: 1 p. 413.

peared, and presided over the twelve different *Kalpas*, or renovations of the present world. The *Srenika Raja Cheritra*, a Jaina legend of *Vimbasara*, king of Magadha, makes him sovereign of Bahar in the time of *Verddhamana*, last of their teachers; and most of their *Puranas*, which are communicated by *Guatama*, relate that he was *Verddhamana's* principal disciple and successor. But while the principles of both religions, and their historical legends, seem derived from a common source, it is evident that, soon after the death of *Guatama* and the origin of the *Bauddha system*, differences of opinion arose to cause the separation of the two sectaries: and, even so early as the beginning of the *fifth century of our era*, the *Satranjaya Mahatmya*, shows that the *Jains*, under *Dhaneshwara Suri*, were opposed to the followers of the *Bauddha faith*. The literature of the latter too indicate these dissensions; and the *Tirthikas* are no doubt the *Jains*, whom the *Do* class of the *Khagyur* discriminates from the followers of *Guatama*, named *Shakyas*.* The moral code of the *Jainas* is analogous also to that of the Bauddhas; and the four religious prohibitions of the former, found in their *Dhermarita katha*; —1, not to injure animal life; —2, not to lie; — 3, not to steal; —4, not to indulge in sensual pleasure, are the same as four of the ten precepts, inculcated by the Bauddha moral system. The injunctions, however, of the *Jainas*; —1, to discard doubt; —2, to perform acts without expectation of advantage, and 3, — to have a steady faith,† are more analogous to *Brahmanical* principles and practice than those of the *Bauddhas*, and seem in most respect similar to what is inculcated in the *Bhagavad Gita*, or treatise on theology, in the *Mahabharat*, communicated by *Krishna* to his pupil *Arjuna*.

Bauddha Schools, principles of belief, and conformity with the tenets taught among the ancient Saboans.

Some of the general principles of the Bauddha religion have been noticed in previous pages of this work; so far as such were deemed necessary to the better understanding of changes that have taken place in *systems of Hindu belief*; and are yet reflected, to the eye of the observer, from the sculptures of Ellora, Elephanta, and Badami. Various systems of philosophy, similar in outline and object to the Grecian Schools, are known to exist among the Hindus; and the leading tenets of two of them, the *Sankhya Darshanas*, or the numeral or rational systems, are remarkably identified with the only *two philosophical Schools* of the Bauddha religion, the *Madhyamika* and *Yogacharya*. The object of all, however, was, by the exercise of judgment or reasoning, to *discriminate spirit from matter*, *Purusha* from *Prakriti*, *or soul from nature*; till having ascended, by regular steps, to perfection, the sage was able to distinguish, the *root*, or *plastic origin* of things, from that modification of them which is distributive, and pertains to individual beings. It was thus he learned to identify himself, and all things, with the source from whence they came, and to which, after a life of virtuous penance, he was doomed to return, escaping the evil of transmigration into other forms. Final excellence, (*nishreyas*,) and deliverance from evil, (*moksha*,) are the promised rewards of a thorough knowledge of the principles taught by this religion: but this state of felicity is, among *Bauddhas* and *Jainas*, more commonly expressed by the term *nirvana*, profound calm, or imperturbable quiescence,‡ The characteristic tenet of the *atheistical Sankhya of Kapila*, and of the *Nepal Bauddha School*, called by Mr. Hodgson *Swabhavika*, seems to be that matter is *eternal* and *productive*; and that *God*, or the intelligence of this system, is rather the energy of *necessity*, and *chance*, than the *ruling creator* of the universe. That, however, which principally distinguishes its opposite the *theistical School* of *Patanjali* is that an *intelligent agent* is superadded to *elementary matter*, and acknowleged as God, or *Iswara*; but who is unconcerned with good or bad deeds, and their consequences, though *omniscient*, and instructor of the earliest beings that had a beginning, (the deities of mythology.§) This more nearly perhaps indentifies itself with the *Prajnika Swabhavika*|| system of Nepal, than with the purely theis-

* Origin of the Shakya race, translated from the *La*, or the twenty sixth volume of the *Do* class in the Kahgyur: by M. A. Csomo de Koros. Prinsep's Journal, 1833, page 385.

† See Dhermarita Katha, in Wilson's Mackenzie Collection, Vol: 1. page 157.

‡ See Mr Colebrooke's Essays on the atheistical and theistical Schools of the Sankhya philosophy; and on that of the Bauddha sect: Trans: R. A. S. Vol I page 95—566.

§ Wards account of the Hindus Vol I.

|| Swabhava, a compound of *Swa* (own) and *bhava* (nature,) is meant to express that all specific forms result from spontaneous, or instinctive creation; and Prajnika, from *pra*, (the intensitive prefix,) and *jna* (wisdom,) implies the material goddess *Prajna*, or intellectual energy superadded to crude matter, for the purposes of creation and the evolution or things. In this it differs from the School of *Patanjali* who makes this agent, or energy, Iswara; while the *Aishwarika* School, like the *Brahmanical*, appears to teach that all material forms proceed from *Maya* (illusion,) and are in action, or *Pravritti*, but emanations of the deity. "Body, (says the Swayambhu purana of Nepal,) is compounded of the five elements: soul which animates it, is an emanation from the self existent." The last, as we shall have occasion hereafter to show, appertains rather to the modern *Jainas* than to the *Bauddhas*: for, in Barmah at least, it is pronounced heretical; and Sangermano, in his account of the laws of Gautama, says. "The last of these impostors taught that there exists a *Supreme Being*, the creator of the world and of all things in it; and that he alone is worthy of all adoration. All these doctrines of the six false gods are called the laws of the six Deitii. (demons):" Tandy's Translation of Sangermano, page 81.

tical, or *Aishwarika School*, which acknowledges the *self existent God*, or the *first intellectual essence*, as *Adi Buddha*, revealed by his own will, and immaterial in his essence. The primitive Bauddha atheistical doctrine does not, as before noticed, admit of a triad: nor was such recognized by the two Schools of the Sankhya, till a modification of their principles, taught in the mythology of the Puranas, ascribed the origin of the world, (Sangha,) to the union of the active, (Buddha,) and passive powers of nature,* (Dherma:) which *three*, in the *aggregate*, were one person or *deity*: but *distributive*, were analogous to the gods *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Maheswara*. This triadic doctrine is solely referable to a state of *Pravritti*, (energy and change,) or the evolution of things; and may, as Mr. Hodgson remarks, be resolved into a *duad*, similar to the *Yin* and *Yan*,† or the imperfect and perfect principles of the *Chinese rational system*, and astronomical creed of the *Sabeans*, and *Fire worshippers*.

Masudi's account of prevailing opinions among the Sabeans, Fire-worshippers, and Indians.

Masudi, in his meadows of gold and mines of jewels,‡ gives so clear a view of the *dualism* of these doctrines, and the introduction of them from *India* into *China*, that I cannot better strengthen the opinions now given than by here quoting, and translating from Arabic, his account. "The religion of the Chinese," says he, "is that of ancient times, a faith called *Shaminah*,§ (Samanian,) similar to the practical devotions of the *Korish*, prior to the advent of *Islamism*; as they worship idols, and turn towards them in their prayers. The intelligent among them invoke by prayer the Creator; and place before them, as an altar or type, the images and idols; but the ignorant, from want of knowledge, associate such with the divine Creator; and relying on them as his partners, think that adoration of these conducts them to the resting place of God; though, in their devotions, such be considered of inferior rank, and less worthy of worship, than the Lord God, most high by his glory, greatness and power. The worship of idols, therefore, though inferior to his praise, is the means of approaching him; and such was the cause of its beginning and origin, among the Chinese, through intercourse and familiarity with the Grandees of India: an opinion which is prevalent both among the learned and unlearned of the latter country, as we have already related. This is the current tradition among the people of China, relative to the doctrine of the *two principles* and *mundanists*; and though they differ and dispute concerning them; yet, amidst all their rules, they adopt such part of their ancient law as seems best to them. Their country adjoins that of *Soghd*, (Sogdiana,) and their tenets, as before related, are those of the *Moghaniah*, (magians or fire worshippers,) relative to opinions on light and darkness. Previously they were a truly ignorant people, and their principles of belief were similar to those of the Turks; till such time as a *fiend of a fire-worshipper overcame them by his opinions*, and taught that every thing, in this world, is in a state of enmity and opposition; such as life and death, health and sickness, light and darkness, riches and poverty, collection and division, conjunction and disjunction, sunrise and sunset, existence and non-existence, day and night, with such like things."

Masudi further observes, in the section of his work called, *Hayakil mushirraf-wa-bayut--al-nairan-wa-Al-asnam-wa-al-kawakib*, (or the lofty Edifices and temples of fire, idols, and stars,) that the ancient philosophers of Greece and India ascribed great influence to the sun and moon, in the physical changes of the world. After describing that the earth, in their opinion, is without motion and the centre of the celestial revolutions, he states that the science of such changes was called Ilm-illahi, or divine knowledge, which taught men the nature of the four elements, of the *Jinns* or spirits, the condition of the *Nafs* or soul, and many like matters. Relative to the belief of the Indians and Chinese, he adds that their philosophers considering the holy God and Angels to be endowed with body, and concealed in heaven, taught the people to offer sacrifices to the planets, and great stars, of which they formed images and worshipped them as the means of intercession with the deity. The teacher who introduced this system is named *Budasif*, and said to have lived in the time of the Persian king Tahmuras (طهمورث). His doctrines inculcated the necessity of men abstaining from this world, and devoting themselves to religious exercises and contemplation of the heavenly bodies; from which the *spirit* has its beginning, and to which every one in this world is doomed to return. Such were the leading tenets of the Sabean faith, as explained by the intelligent

* It would thus appear that both the *Swabhava*, and *Prajnika Swabhavika Schools* of Buddhism, are essentially atheistical in their principles, and teach materialism: for, as Mr. Colebrook. observes of the Sankhya philosophy, these may be said to affirm *two* eternal principles, *soul and matter*: though *Prakriti*, or nature, abstracted from modifications, is no other than matter. See Colebrooke's Observations on the Nyaya School: Trans: R. A. S. Vol: I. p. 95.

† These are the male and female principles, the active and passive elements, the *tamasa* and *rajasa* of the Hindus, or the qualities of *depravity* and *passion*.

‡ See his account of the Chinese, in the Arabic history called Murawwaj-az-zahab-wa-maadin-al-jawahir.

§ This word is derived from the Persian Shamya شمیا, interpreted heaven; but is explained in the dictionary called Burhani Kaatia, to be a Syriac word meaning significant light, or understanding.

among those who had inquired after the state of the ancient world; and who said that *Jamshid* was the first king, who ordered the people to adore fire, as similar to the light of the Sun and planets. In noticing also several of the fire temples he particularly names the one of *Mandu-mayan* in India, which would appear to have been in middle India, or some part of Malwa; and on such points, Masudi's testimony is of great authority; as he himself travelled in the country about the beginning of the tenth century. After stating too that, in the year of the Hejira 336 A. D. 947, there existed at Harran* a large temple of the Sabeans, which was dedicated to *Azar*, "the father of Abraham," he thus continues on the subject of their religion, and its connexion with the ancient philosophical dogmas of Greece and India. "High above the staircase, says he, and over the gate of the building, in the city of Harran, where the Sabeans usually assembled, I saw written, in Syriac, a saying of Aflatun, (Plato,) *whoever knows what is spirit becomes divine: as men are but heavenly trees. The proof of it is this, that man is an inverted tree, of which the roots are towards heaven, and the branches towards earth.* Plato and others who follow him, regarding the rational soul النفس الناطقة, have discoursed much, and in various ways, whether spirit exists in matter, or matter in spirit; just as whether the sun is in the house, or the house in the sun.† But this subject leads us to the transmigration of souls into various forms. Men of learning differ from each other, as to the sense and translation of the above passage, and are divided, according to two parties, among the ancient philosophers, into Greeks and Indians; who are without any written guide, or evangelical book, and have not any prophets amongst them. Among them Plato, and his followers relate that these philosophers presumed that spirit is *immaterial* and not *material*; and that it is living, intelligent, and discriminating; being in itself essence: and is that which is the regulator and chief of all bodies composed of the four elements, that are opposed to each other: wherein the use of it is to keep them in a state of equilibrium such as can effect perfect arrangement, and reduce them from disorder to order.‡

* Harran on the river Euphrates, is said by Tavernier, to lie on the right hand of those, who, in going from Syria to Ourfa, cross the river at *Al-Bir*. In his Persian travels, Book II. chap: IV, he says, that "Ourfa is the capital city of Mesopotamia, built as they say in the same place as Abraham lived, where stood the ancient Edessa; and where the people of the country, report that king Abagaras generally kept his court. There are still to be seen the ruins of a castle, from whence they add that the same king sent to Christ for his picture, and offered him his kingdom and his people to defend him against the Jews, whom he understood to be his enemies.

† Mr. Colebrooke, in his analysis of the philosophy of the *uttara mimansa*, says, "The omnipotent, omniscient, sentient cause of the universe, is *(anandamaya)* essentially happy. He is the brilliant golden person, seen within *(antar)* the solar orb and the human eye. He is the etherial element *(akasa)* from which all things proceed, and to which all return. He is the breath *(prana)* in which all beings merge, into which they all rise. He is the light *(jyotish)* which shines in heaven, and in all places high and low, every where throughout the world, and within the human person. On the subject of moral philosophy, and division of the soul, *Sen an Ibn Thábet Ben Korrah'el Harráni*, has written a work in which he enumerates the intellectual soul, الناطقة, the animal soul, الغضبية, and vegetative soul or function, الشوانية. He lived about the middle of the tenth Country A.D.

‡ The Thammim of the Jews followed a belief in charms and amulets; but the *Urim* and the *Thammim*, mentioned in Leviticus, Chap. VIII, V. 8, are explained to be the jewels in the ephod and breast plate of the Jewish High Priest; representing the lights and perfections, or manifestations of the truth. Masudi's subsequent statement, in the Arabic of the passage translated in the text, that some of the Sabean sectaries considered *Spirit* to be a jewel, entangled by body, affords a curious explanation of the symbolical meaning attached to the four rows of precious stones, which were set in the breast plates, as described in Exodus, Chap. XXVIII. Ver. 17. The original Arabic Jaohar (جوهر) means either jewel or essence, and the stars are commonly called *Jawahir-i-ulwiyah*, جواهر علوي or the gems above. It is from this sufficiently apparent, that among the *Sabeans*, gems were considered to represent the purity of spiritual essence; and, when inscribed with mystical characters, were, among the *Chaldeans*, held in great estimation, and worn, as amulets, to protect them from the influence of the evil spirit. A similar belief seems to form part of the *Bauddha* religious doctrines; and their connexion with the principles of Sabeism will account for the pearls, rubies, gold, silver, and other jewels, which are found along with the ashes of the dead in such Bauddha monuments as *Manikalaya*, whose name seems to be a compound word, signifying the place of the precious jewels. The appellation of the three Buddhas, in their trinity, *Tri-ratna*, or three jewels, was previously noticed; and similar expressions are found in the cave inscriptions of western India. The whole of the original passage of Masudi, above translated, being eminently curious, is here subjoined. ورايت في باب مجمع الصابية لمدينة حران مكتوب اعلي مرقات الباب بالسريانية قول افلاطون انهيني تفسيره ملك ابن عيقق فهو خيرته منهم وهو من عرف ذاته تاله وقال افلاطون الانسان نبات سموي قال والدليل علي هذا انه شبه شجرة منكوسة اصلها الي السماء وفرعها الي الارض ولافلاطون وغيره ممن سلك طريقته في النفس الناطقة كلام كثير في هل النفس في البدن او البدن في النفس كالشمس في الدار والدار في الشمس وهذا قول يتغلغل بنا الكلام فيه الي تنقل الارواح في انواع الصور وقد تنازع اهل الاراء ممن فصل هذه المقالة في الفلسفة علي وجهين فطايفة منهم من الفلاسفة القدماء من اليونانيين والهند ممن لم يثبت كتابا منزلا ولا نبيا مرسلا منهم افلاطون ومن يمم طريقه فانه حكي عنهم انهم زعموا ان النفس جوهر ليست بجسم وانها حية عالمة مميزة لاجل ذاتها وجوهرها وانما هي مدبرة الاجسام المركبة من الطبايع الاربع المتضادات غرضها في ذلك ان تقيمها علي العدل وما يتم بالسياسة المستقيمة والنظام المنتسق ويردها من الحركة المضطربة الي المنتظمة

Bauddha opinions of the twelve regenerations of the world, analogous to the astronomical theories of the ancients relative to the recession of the twelve signs of the Zodiac.

The ancient astronomers of Greece and India appear to have designated their knowledge of the planetary revolutions, the nature of the elements, and the influence of the heavenly bodies, on the earth and germination, by the title of *divine*. Like the early cultivators of astronomy among the Arabs, these investigators of natural phenomena taught that *earth and water, which are of a cold nature*, are opposed to *fire and air, which are warm ;* and that though all these principles influenced, and entered into, the changeable effects of the versatile world, they naturally tended to the dissolution of particular forms, only to re-appear under new combinations. Amidst this arrangement of the world, and the periodical revolutions to which it has been subjected, *the ruling power, or regency of particular signs of the Zodiac* is recognized as the cause of such changes; and while *Aries* holds this power for twelve thousand years, *Taurus* for eleven, *Gemini* for ten, and so on in decreasing proportion, *Virgo*, or *Sumbalah*, as regent of the present world, (destined only to last seven thousand* years,) is assisted in her office of cherishing and preserving it by the influence of the planet *Mushtari*, or *Jupiter*. In these *Sabean doctrines* we recognize the twelve *Kappos*, or regenerations of the world; during which *twenty four Buddhas* have appeared. The account of these will be found in Mr. Turnour's introduction† to his translation of the Mahawanso. The present regeneration is the *Mahabadda Kappo*, (kalpa,) of *five Buddhas ;* of whom *Krakuchhanda*, *Kanaka*, *Kasyapa*, and *Sakya* ‡ have come, while the last, *Maitreya*, is yet to appear. The Bauddhas too, like these philosophers, teach the doctrine that though fire, water, and wind, be causes of the world's destruction, the *second element* is alone the agent in its reproduction.§ As early as the time of Megasthenes similar opinions were maintained by the Indian philosophers; who asserted that the world was produced and is perishable ; that the principles of things are various ; that *water* is the principle of the world's construction ; and that besides the four elements, there is a *fifth nature*, whence heaven and the stars. God, however, is represented as the governor and creator of the universe, pervading the whole ; an opinion, as Mr. Colebrooke observes, more suitable to the orthodox *Hindus*, or *Brahmans*, than to the *Bauddhas or Jainas*. In other respects no great difference of opinion,‖ between the sectaries, appears to have existed ; and the *fifth nature*, producing heaven and the stars, is the *Sunyakar-Akasa*, (sheer space,) or etherial empyrean ; which the *Swabhavika* Bauddha school of Nepal recognizes as being established and governed by its own force, or nature. It is said to be the essence, (*Atma*,) of creation, preservation, and destruction ; from which existence is evolved, in the order of air from *akasa*, fire from air, water from fire, and earth from water ; and to which again all things, at their dissolution, return in the reverse order of their evolution.¶

Matter, in his observations on the *Gnostics*, truly remarks, that, relative to opinions of the origin of all things, from one *only principle*, and from a primitive love, which is the moving power and regent therein, the cause is nothing but *light* combined with *spirit*, which is the life of every thing and penetrates all, and that one cannot but here recognize the influence of *siderial spirits*, accompanied by successive *degradation of generations*, emanating one from another. The union here traced between the religious principles of the *Sabeans*, *Fire-worshippers*, and *Bauddhas*, may be ascribed to such a cause, and to the association of the earliest opinions of idolatry with the theories of astronomy, and of other natural phenomena. One cannot fail to recognize that, from this source, the Bauddhas have drawn their notions of twelve worldly regenerations ; which, from their analogy, with theories relative to the revolutions of the Zodiac, were probably founded on observations of the recession of these signs, by which the pole of the world's diurnal revolution, describes a complete circle round the poles of the ecliptic, at the distance of 23½ degrees in 25,745 years. If this opinion be correct, some of the chief principles of the Bauddha system cannot be dated earlier than the second century B. C. as the discoveries of Hipparchus, at Alexandria, relative to the precession of the equinoxes, were not made earlier than B. C. 161.

After the above exposition, one will not be surprised to find the union of the *Bauddha* and *Mithraic* creeds, exhibited by the cave inscriptions, and the coins of Northern India. Regarding the different systems of Tibet Buddhism ; *supreme intelligence*, whether understood in an atheistical or theistical view of primary causes, is generally expressed by the Sanskrit term *Buddha ;* which, in Tibetan, denotes the most perfect being purified from imperfections, and abounding in all good qualities. Distinctions are made respecting the state of such essence ; which, in the abstract, or *dherma kaya*, plastic origin of all

* See Masudi's account of the opinions entertained regarding the influence of the Sun and Moon on the world.

† See introduction page XXXII.

‡ These are the four Buddhas chiefly recognized in the Ceylon system of this religion ; and are called Kakusanda, Konagamma, Kasyapa, and Gautama.

§ See Sangermano Chap. V. p. 33.

‖ Strabo Lib. XV.

¶ Hodgson's quotations on the Swabhavika doctrine of Nepal, in Prinsep's Journal for 1836, page 72—74.

things, the ὕλη, or substratum, is called *Swabhava*, self produced, or self existing, and sometimes *Adi-Buddha*, or *Samanta Buddha*. The former seems to be a term used under the idea that essence is a material principle; the latter imply that it is entirely spiritual. Such *primary* cause, connected with effects in the versatile world, and viewed in either way as acting through *secondary* causes, in producing it, is distinguished in this modified state by the term *Sambhog-kaya*, to which belong the five *Dhyani Buddhas*, of whom *Vairochana*, or *light*, is called the illuminator. Hence it was that Mr. Hodgson, in answer to his eighth question, — "What is the reason for Buddha being represented with curled locks"? received the reply, ***Adi Buddha is merely light:*** and again, that, in the twenty first volume of the *Do* class of Tibet, where the epithets of Buddha are enumerated, he is called *Tathagata*, the universally radiant sun; — *Tathagata*, the moral wisdom; *Tathagata*, the chief lamp of all the regions of space. Similar epithets are applied to Buddha in mortal form as *Gautama;* whose synonimes are *Arka-bandhu, (kinsman of the sun,) Aditya-bandhu, (friend of the sun,)* and *Lokaika-bandhu, (or the sole superior friend of the world.*)* The third state of essence is called *Nirmankaya;* to which belong the several incarnations of Buddha, as he appeared in former ages, in several parts of the universe; manifesting himself, in mortal form, to teach his doctrines and instruct his disciples.

Reputed age and origin of the two earliest Bauddha schools, the Madhyamika and Yogacharya.

The four schisms, or schools, to which the opinions of *Buddha-Muni, Sakya-Sinha, or Gautama* gave rise, have been noticed in the first part of this chapter; and the leading tenets of the *Madhyamika* and *Yogacharya*, with their relative identity to systems of Hindu philosophy, have just been briefly stated. It is of some importance, however, in tracing the rise and progress of Buddhism, to ascertain about what period these schools originated. The third convocation of the Bauddha priesthood, according to the authority of the Ceylon scriptures, took place in the reign of *Dharma Asoka;* but agreeably to the Tibet books it is assigned to the time of *Kaniska*, a king of northern India, reigning about four hundred years after the death of *Sakya*. At this time, however, his followers had separated themselves into *eighteen sects*, under the four principal divisions alre dy recorded: and from what is related in the biographical account of *Nagarjuna*, who is the reputed author of the *Madhyamika*, it appears, that, as an orthodox follower of Buddha, he denounced the six *Arhatas*, or mortal predecessors of *Gautama;* who are recognized both in China, Tibet, and Nepal. Our knowledge of this fact rests on Mr. Turnour's translation of a passage of the *Raja Tarangini*, a history of Kashmir; which has been differently interpreted by Professor Horace Wilson. I am disposed, however, to prefer the former; as from what I have been able to ascertain of the origin of the *Jainas* from the *Bauddha* sect, and the consequent derivation of their sacred language, the *Prakrit* from *Pali*, their separation seems to have taken place about the time of *Nagarjuna*, and to have originated in some such difference of opinion as gave a preference to *Kasyapa*, the *Brahmanical predecessor of Gautama*, and made him the author of a system of religion which was once common to both.

Nagarjuna, author of the Madhyamika school, lived in the city of Sagala, where he disputed with Milinda Raja.

Nagarjuna, the same as *Nagasena* of the Pali work called *Milindapanno*, was, as would appear, a Bauddha hierarch, who lived B. C. 43. He is celebrated for a controversy on the subject of his religion, with *Milinda*, the Raja of *Sagala*, a city well known to Greek history, and otherwise named Euthymedia or Euthydemia; having been so called in honor of the Bactrian king, *Euthydemus*; who, after successfully directing an insurrection in Bactria against the Seleucidæ, pushed his conquests into India, and established this city under his own name.† Some are of opinion that its Grecian appellation of *Euthydemia* was imposed on it by his son *Demetrius;* who after his father's death, and that of *Menander*, seized on that portion of the *Bactro-Indian* empire which had been theirs. Difference of opinion too exists as to the particular site of this city, which, in the time of Alexander the Great, was called *Sangala*, and is said, in Arrian's history of India, to be situated between the two last rivers of the *Panj-ab*, the ancient *Hydraotes*, and *Hyphasis*, or the modern *Ravi* and *Vipasa*. The town of *Hurrepah*, south-west of Lahore, and distant from it somewhat more than sixty miles, has been, with apparent truth, identified by Mr. C. Masson, as the site of *Sagala*, which, in Alexander's time, was the capital of the Kathai, *(Kshatriyas;)*‡ and is mentioned in the Kerna Parva of the *Mahabarat* under the name of *Sakala*.§ In the latter, it is called a city of the *Bahikas*, otherwise named *Arattas;* who are said to be without ritual, or religious observances; and who, as distin-

* See Trans. R. A. S. Vol. II. p. 238. Res. As. Society Vol. II. p. 124. Vol. XVI. p. 456, and Prinsep's Journal for 1832 page 383.

† See Danville's Ancient Geography, Vol II. p. 105.

‡ According to the manner of derivatives from Sanskrit, the Ksha क्ष of the latter is changed into Kha ख, and the r र being always omitted in Pali words, the Sanskrit appellation for a man of the military classes, *Kshatreya* क्षत्रिय thus becomes in Pali *Khatya*; a name not far removed from the Kathæi of the Greeks, which seems a corruption of the original word.

§ See Prinsep's Journal, for 1837, page 57, and Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV, p. 108.

guished fron the pure *Hindus*, or followers of the *Vedas* and orthodox system, must have been *Bahalikas*, Bactrians, or of *Indo-Scythian* extraction. The inference, that the people of *Sagala* belonged to the latter, is rendered more certain by facts, that this city is mentioned, in the Parthian Mansions of *Isiodorus Characenus**, as belonging to the *Sacæ* or Scythians; and by Ferishta's history, and the Persian romances, again mentioning that one of its Rajas was assisted by *Afrasiab*, in a war against the celebrated *Kai-Khusrau*, or Cyrus. A point of connexion, between the *Græco-Bactrian* kingdom and one of the earliest schools of Bauddha philosophy, seems thus established with tolerable certainty; and the name of the city of *Sagala* met with in the western cave inscriptions must afford additional proof, that the religious opinions and ritual of Buddhism were not uninfluenced, in the north of India, by the mythology, if not the philosophy of the Greeks. Nagarjunàs principal disciples, according to the Tibetan books, were *Arya Deva* and *Buddha Palita*; and though the latter may not be the same as the *Buddha Palit* of No. 23 inscription from the Buddhist tope at Bhilsa, the occurrence of this name on a monument of such antiquity, should not at least pass without remark. Regarding the probable age of the *Yogacharya* school, the Tibetan books mention that the principal works on this system are referred to *Arya Sanga*, about the seventh century of our era.

The Sautrantika and Vaibhashika schools.

Two other schools of Bauddha doctrine, the *Sautrantika* and *Vaibhashika*, which are rather dogmatical than philosophical, existed among the early sectaries of this religion; and were, as Mr.Colebrooke observes, anterior to the age of *Sankara Acharya*, and *Kumarila Bhatta*: the last of whom instigated a persecution of the Bauddhas, by which they were driven from Hindusthan. Could the authority of Tibetan books be trusted, the origin of the last of these schisms would be placed in the middle of the sixth century B. C. and immediately after the death of *Gautama*: but there is reason for mistrusting the narrative of events related by the early Bauddha annals, which can only be considered authentic from the well established period of the emperor *Asoka*. The same division of Bauddha sectaries, as known to their Brahmanical opponents, exists among the Bauddhas of Tibet; whose books mention that the *Vaibhashika* consisted of four principal classes, originating with Sakya's four disciples: who are called *Rahula*, *Kasyapa*, *Upali*, and *Katyayana*.† The latter, called in Pali books *Kachchayano*, an inspired saint and lawgiver, who corrected the inaccuracies of *Panini*, the father of *Sanskrit* grammar; and is acknowledged, by the literature of Ceylon, to have been the author of the earlist *Pali* grammar; from which the oldest compiled version, called the *Rupasiddhi* was composed in the Dekhan.‡ The identity of the author is, Mr. Colebrooke says, involved in the impenetrable darkness of mythology;§ but if the era of Gautama be accurately fixed, and the early annals of Buddhism allowed to be authentic, the origin both of *Sanskrit* and of *Pali* grammar must be dated six centuries B.C.: but this is a subject which is yet imperfectly investigated.

Both the Sautrantika and Vaibhashika sects admit the existence of external objects and of internal sensations; distinguishing, under the former, *elements*, *(bhuta,)* and things appertaining thereto, *(bhautika,)* which are organs and sensible qualities. They reckon, under the latter, *intelligence*, *(chita,)* and what belongs thereto, *chaitta*. The elements are only *four*, consisting of atoms, which, when conjoined, form compound substances, or bodies, the objects of sense that are apprehended by individual consciousness, or intelligence, dwelling within body. The *Vaibhashika* acknowledge the *direct perception* of exterior objects, and the *Sautrantikas* contend for the *mediate apprehension* of them, through images presented to consciousness: but both are of opinion that objects cease to exist when no longer perceived, and teach that, both in the physical and moral world, events are but a concatenation of cause and effect, which are *unreal*, and momentary. A belief to the contrary, or in the durability of objects, arises from *(avidya)* or error: to remove which, these schools maintain that the object of knowledge is the destruction of percipient power; by which the bound soul, *(badhnati,)* associated with works,*(karman,)*obtains liberation, and exemption from further transmigration.

Relation of the Vaibhashika and Sautrantika, the Karmika, and Yatnika systems of Nepal.

Some doubt exists regarding the recorded antiquity of the Sautrantika and Vaibhashika schools, which are, however, connected, by this last tenet, with a comparatively modern modification of them; called *Karmika* and *Yatnika* systems of Nepal. The former teaches that phenomena are illusory, resulting only from an act of the sentient principle,

* Isiodorus wrote after the flight of Teridates, about A. D. 36, and mentions the city in these, words " Hinc Sacastana Sacarum Scytharum, quæ et Parætacena, schœn: 63, ubi Bardn urbs, et Min urbs, et Palacenti urbs, et Sigal urbs; ubi regia Sacarum, propeque Alexandria urbs, et non procul Alexandriopolis urbs: vici etiam sex." Geographiæ veteris scriptores Græci Minores, Vol: II.

† See notices of different systems of Buddhism, extracted from the Tibetan authorities: by Alex: C. Koros. Prinsep's Journal for 1838, page 143.

‡ Introduction to Mr Turnour's translation of the Mahawanso, page XXV.

§ See Asiatic Researches Vol: VII p: 199.

(manas;) which, yet unembodied, falsely believes in their reality.* This school of Buddhism, which, in Mr. Hodgson's opinion, admits of conscious moral effort, is, he conceives, an attempt to remedy the *Swabhavika* denial of personality, conscious power, and wisdom, of a first cause; which denial necessarily results from the theory of self productive energy of matter, called by the Burmese *dammata*, or fate;† and which leaves such cause without the attributes of moral power, conscious intellectual effort, or will. It was a sequel to the declaration of such opinion, that the universe was *without a moral ruler;* and that the change of deity, from a state of *nirvritti*, (quiescence,) to that of *pravritti*, (energy,) was effected *without conscious intellectual power*, or free will. If such was the state of a first cause, human nature was equally without a sense of right and wrong, and deprived of free will; for, according to the philosophical schools of Buddhism, man became an irresponsible being, without the power or will of effecting his eternal happiness. To remove this objection, however, to the atheism of Bauddha doctrines, which had linked the physical origin of a first cause with the phenomena of human nature, it was requisite to teach that every free willed man might, through a proper cultivation of his moral sense, and the just conduct of his understanding, realize that eternal connexion between virtue and felicity, which none of the schools have ever attempted to deny. The *Karmika* system had asserted the superiority of man's moral sense, and the *Yatnika* was produced to advocate the doctrine of his free will; ‡ but both seem comparatively modern, and must have succeeded the *physical theories*, taught by the Bauddha philosophers, regarding the origin of the world and the nature of a first cause. That general law of material energy, or fate, by which one world was destroyed and another reproduced, being made applicable to the phenomena of human nature, primitive men were said to fall off from the perfection of their ancestors, to give themselves up to vice and abandon virtue, and to have their lives gradually diminished; until by their lust, anger, and ignorance, the physical dissolution of the world takes place, and human beings perish only to re-appear under new forms.§

Connexion between the Karmika system and the opinions of the Jainas.

The opinion, that these schools are of modern origin, is strengthened by the connexion of the *Karmika* system with some of the leading doctrines of the *Jaina* sectaries; who teach that the duration of punishment, or reward, is according to the powers of the mind and senses; and that, in proportion as they are held in subjection, till apathy or stoical indifference be acquired by discipline, man's happiness or misery is accordingly insured. The act of the sentient power, *(manas,)* which, through ignorance, *(avidya,)* maintains a belief in the reality of worldly objects, or a desire to maintain its union with them, can, by a higher intellectual effort, *extinguish such sentient desires;* and obtain *moksha*, or release from the trammels of existence, by the realization of true knowledge, that all events of this world are unreal.‖ Contemporary with the adoption, by the Bauddhas, of the Karmika doctrines, the existence of a fifth element, *(akasa,)* having been admitted, and *manas*, or the sentient principle, being at the same time acknowledged as the sixth, and called *vajara satwa;* these, together with the four original elements, are represented by the six *Dhyani Buddhas* of the *Aishwarika*, or theistical school: and to which, Mr. Hodgson thinks, the *Karmika* and *Yatnika*, systems, on the subject of human nature, more naturally attach themselves than to the physical *Swabhavika*.¶

* The reader is requested to compare on this subject Mr. Hodgson's quotations on the Karmika system, (Prinsep's Journal for 1836 p: 78,) and Mr. Colebrooke's observations on the philosophy of Indian sectaries, Trans; R. A. S. Vol: I p. 562. The following is the quotation from the *Racha Bhagavati*, given by Mr. Hodgson in proof and illustration of his opinions. "The being of all things is derived from belief, reliance, (pratyaya,) in this order: from false knowledge, delusive impression; from delusive impression, general notions; from them, particulars; from them, the six seats (or outward objects) of the senses; from them, contact; from it, definite sensation and perception; from it, thirst or desire; from it, embryotic (physical) existence; from it, birth or actual physical existence; from it, all the distinctions of genus and species among animate things; from them, decay and death, after the manner and period peculiar to each. Such is the procession of all things into existence from Avidya, or delusion: and in the inverse order to that of their procession, they retrograde into non-existence. And the egress and regress are both Karmas, wherefore this system is called Karmika. (Sakya to his disciples in the Racha Bhagavati.)"

† See Sangermano, Chapter II para; I.

‡ The following quotation by Mr. Hodgson, on the Swabhavika doctrine, shows its tendency to refer every thing to instinct or fate: "Who sharpened the thorn? Who gave their varied forms, colors, and habits to the deer kind, and to birds? Swabhava! It is not according to the will *(ichchha)* of any; and if there be no desire or intention, there can be no intender or designer. Bauddha Charitra", Prinsep's Journal, 1836, page 73.

§ Compare this with the general principles of the Bauddha religion, announced in the first part of this Chapter.

‖ The reader may consult on this subject, Major Delamaine on the Karmas of the Jainas; and what Mr. Colebrooke has written on the opinions of the Bauddha sect. The latter, from Brahmanical sources, is in direct accordance with Mr. Hodgson's quotation, No 4 on the Karmika system. These two dogmatical schools are like the exoteric, or practical course of dicipline prescribed by Pythagoras, by which the corporeal parts of man's nature being mortified and subdued, the intellectual portion of it was fitted for the contemplation of immutable truth, and union with the divine nature.

¶ See Note 15 on his sketch of Buddhism. These dogmatical schools have a theistical tendency; and, like the Tantrika portion of the Kahgyur, almost teach the doctrine of *Maya*, or illusion, regarding the material existence of things. The reader may refer to the article of this Chapter, pointing out the assimilation of doctrines taught by the last volume of the Nepal Tantrika works, with those of the Saiva Hindus.

Cosmogony, and theogeny of the Bauddhas.

In the exposition of the principles which distinguish the different schools of this religion, we have anticipated all that may be said regarding the origin of the world: created, according to the *Madhyamika** and *Swabhavika* doctrines, from *Sunya*: which some, like *Anaximenes*, represent as the original and constituent principle of things, residing in the air, or *Sunyakar-Akasa;* while others, like *Anaxagoras*, consider it the chaotic state of matter, existing from all eternity. It has been widely admitted that creation was preceded by chaos.

> Ante mare et terras et quod tegit omnia cœlum,
> Unus erat toto naturæ vultus in orbe,
> Quem dixere Chaos, rudis indigestaque moles,
> Nec quicquam insit pondus iners, congestaque eodem,
> Non bene juncturam discordia semina rerum.
>
> *Ovid.*

Some doubt, however, exists as to what the *theogonists* conceived regarding God's nature; whether they supposed him, as the primary cause, co-existing with and independent of the material principle, or whether they thought that he sprung from the latter, or created this out of his own essence and from nothing. The *Swabhavika* and *Prajnika* schools derive the active agent of creation from the eternal mass; the *Aishwarika* seems to recognize both an *intellectual* and *material* principle, the former acting on the latter, through secondary causes: and, if the *Karmika* and *Yatnika* systems do not teach the creation of the world out of God's essence, they at least realize the practical theism of such a doctrine, by maintaining the illusion of natural objects, and allowing man conscious moral power, and free will.

It would be unnecessary to repeat what I have previously said regarding the different orders of Buddhas, but for the circumstance, that, with a more complete comprehension of the principles of this religion, the reader will now better understand the different deifications, *celestial* and *human*, which are objects of worship under the name of *Buddha*. The material *Swabhava* places nature supreme, and considers it as *Iswara*, or God; but that modification of it, which unites a transcendental omniscient principle, called *Prajna*, with the material one, typifies such as the goddess *Dharma*; who is the first member of the *Bauddha triad*, and is associated with the type of nature's energy, or *Buddha*, as the *second*, both of which give rise to *Sangha*, or union, as the *third*. *Dharma* is here considered the plastic, or elemental state of all things, to which is united, for the production of effects in the versatile world, the second member of the triad *Buddha*, or the efficient cause of things. A yet more decidedly theistical system, the *Aishwarika*, represents intellectual essence supreme, and calls it *Adi Buddha*; who, in producing effects and changes in the material world, operates through *secondary* causes, *or the five elements*, of which the *Dhyani Buddhas* are types; and to which are linked individual energies, named *Bodhisatwas*, operating in conjunction with passive conceptive principles called *Saktis*. But when the deity is represented in unity, he is called *Adi Buddha;* and has, according to Mr. Hodgson's quotations, five bodies, five jnyans, and five sights, and is said to be the *mukat*, (crest,) of the five Buddhas, without partner.† The latter from its representation in the *Phrabat*, or solar foot, would appear symbolical of the solar ray; and the *Dehgop* of the caves is but a *type* of the *corporeal frame* of the *five elements*, or *Dhyani Buddhas;* which are the vehicles of the subtle person, or spirit, and are generally found represented on four sides of the *Dehgopas*,‡ both in India and Nepal, the centre of which is supposed to be occupied by the fifth *Vairochana*, or light. The *Karmika* and *Yatnika* systems of Nepal have admitted the sentient principle, *manasa*, as the sixth *Dhyani Buddha*; but all these are personifications, or *Buddhas* of celestial origin. Those of moral birth, before enumerated, and of whom *Gautama* is the last, having obtained plenary power, or omnipotence, *through union with divinity*, have been manifested during the different regenerations of the world: of which there are said to have been *twelve*, reckoning backwards from the present *kappo*, or creation, in which four Buddhas have already appeared and one is yet to come.

* These doctrines are the objects of special confutation by Sankara Acharya; who, in reference to them, is thus mentioned by Professor Horace Wilson, in his preface to the amended edition of the Sanskrit Dictionary. "He comes in personal contact with the Bauddhas, indeed, according to our authority, in but two instances: the first is a short conference with an *Arhata*, who advocates the Madhyamika doctrines, or those of a Bauddha sect, and which is held in the Bahlika country, a region identified by name and geographical position with the modern Balkh; and the second happens in Kashmir, where amongst the many sects who oppose Sankara's access to the temple of Saraswati, a short time before his death, the Bauddhas make their appearance." I have already shown their connexion from Bauddha authority, with the Indo Scythian city of Sagala, and that they originated with Nagarjuna: which opinion is corroborated by the above quotation, and Sanskrit authors.

† Prinsep's Journal, 1836, page 85, and quotation 14.

‡ The Dehgop may be considered an aggregation of the elements, effected by the presidence of spirit; and, viewed as a type of elemental creation, presents an analogy to the mundane egg, from which, according to the doctrines of antiquity, sprung the first born of the world.

The Bauddhas acknowledge three different kinds of beings, the material and generating, *(Kama;)* the material, not procreating by the usual laws, *(rupa;)* and the immaterial, *(arupa,)* who do not generate at all. The first order of beings, including mankind and genii, *(Nath,)* ascend according to their good or evil conduct, by progressive transmigrations to states of final beatitude, *(nirvana,)* where they are exempt from further change, or are doomed to pain and punishment in the mansions of the demons, or by repeated worldly transmigrations into the bodies of inferior animals. The virtuous, through the merit of their actions, when finally emancipated from existence, are transported to the *bhuvanas of Buddha*, while the wicked are hurried to the six abodes of the *Daityas* or *Naraka*, the hell for sinners, fabled to be below the world of waters, *(Jala-kund,)* which support the earth. Mankind and their protecting genii *(Nath,)* occupy the earth, and atmospheric region above it; which last is variously divided into *bhuvanas* or mansions, called by the Ceylon scriptures the *Deva-lokas*. Above these are the three *bhuvanas* of *Mahadeva*, the six of *Vishnu*, and the eighteen of *Brahma*; which are the places of the *visible gods*, or of those celestial physical causes, or beings, which are destined, at the dissolution of worlds, to be the germs of future ones. Above all are the *Bauddha bhuvanas*, of which the *Agnishta* is the highest, and the abode of *Adi Buddha*. Below it, some accounts place ten, and others thirteen *bhuvanas*, inhabited by the emancipated *Arhatas*, *Bodhisatwas*, or faithful followers of Buddha, who have passed into a state of *nirvana*; where from *finite* they become *infinite* beings, and the same with divinity.

Beings that live in the world.

Sin is said to proceed from the body, the mouth, and the mind; and those who would escape the evil of further transmigration, and punishment, are enjoined to observe the ten moral precepts; which are not uniformly enumerated, in the Bauddha books of various countries. Those mentioned by Sangermano from Burmese authority, are, 1. Not to kill animals; 2. not to steal; 3. not to give themselves up to carnal pleasures; 4. to tell no lies; 5. to drink no wine; 6. not to eat after midday; 7. not to dance, sing, or play on a musical instrument; 8. not to colour their faces with sandal wood; 9. not to stand in elevated places not proper for them; 10. to touch no gold or silver.

Moral injunctions.

Bauddha opinions, regarding the generating influence of the atmospheric region and mansion of the planets, have been explained in the previous pages; and, as has been shewn, this *intermediate aerial space*, peopled with genii, or the *Nath*, possesses the power of secondary causes in the business of creation. The sun, moon and stars, here illuminate the world, divide day from night, distinguish the seasons, and indicate good or evil to mankind.* This belief inculcates that *malignant beings exist inimical to man*, while other *benevolent genii* exercise their influence in protecting him; and hence originates the practice of propitiating the latter, or averting the malignancy of the former, by the astrological worship of the *Bali*, or nine planets.† Besides the seven heavenly constellations, the Bauddhas reckon the ascending nodes, *Rahhu* and *Ketu*, as two others; which are invoked, with offerings and song, in cases of sickness or important undertakings in life. We are yet little informed on the subject of their astronomical system; but from what Sangermano mentions of the Burmese notions, it appears not materially different from that of the Jainas, excepting that the progressive falling downwards of the earth in space, and the existence of two suns, two moons, and two sets of planets, for the northern and southern quarters, form no part of Bauddha astronomical belief. It is maintained, however, that mount *Meru* exists in the middle of the earth, encircled by seven ranges of hills, between which are seven rivers, and that the sun, and moon, and planets revolve round it, in parallel orbits; illuminating successively four great islands; of which *Jambu-dwipa*, or India, is the southern one. The different faces of mount Meru, toward the four cardinal points, reflect the solar beams of various colours, and communicate such respectively to the islands and inhabitants of these quarters. Neither Bauddhas nor Brahmans agree about the particular colours of the different faces; though they generally enumerate them *white* on the east, *yellow* on the south, *green* or *black* on the west, and *red* on the north.‡ Four kings of the *Nath* are said to preside over these quarters; with whom, as types of the elements and of colour, the *Dhyani Buddhas* seem to have an analogy; as *Akshobhya*, who occupies the eastern niche of the Dehgop, is described

Cosmography, system of Astronomy, and Astrology.

* Sangermano Chap: III, para 14.

† See Mr. Upham's account of the Bali in Ceylon, Chap: X. This system of sidereal astrology, called in Ceylon *Baliak*, or the worship of the planetary powers above, is similar in all respects to the Syrian idolatry of worshipping and propitiating the *Balim*, or host of heaven, which protected and influenced mankind in health and sickness. These are the spirits of the stars, the Ζωφασημιν, or the sentinels of heaven; and, in the Greek inscription which I copied from the gate of the great mosque at Damascus, (once a Christian church, and previously a heathen temple,) they are called "the things of eternity", and of uncontrolled power in every period of birth and generation.

‡ See Vishnu Purana, translated by Wilson, 4to at note 2, page 167.

of a blue colour, and *Ratnasambhava*, on the southern, is said to be yellow or golden.* Around the summit of mount Meru extends the *Bhuvana* of *Indra*, or the *Tavatinsa heaven*; where flourishes the sacred tree *Kalpa-vriksha*, granting every desire. The *Lokapalas*, or eight regents of the heavenly quarters, worshipped by the Bauddhas and Jains, are, with the elephant of Indra, inhabitants of this celestial mansion, in which the *Nath*, and *Spirits* of the good, not yet joined to divinity in *Nirvana*, shining by their own light, need not that of the sun.†

The Bauddhas have a system of solar Zodiacs, analogous to ours; wherein the names of the twelve constellations manifest their connexion with the *Greek* and *Arab* schemes of the Zodiac, originally derived perhaps from the *Chaldeans*. An annual movement of the sun and planets is admitted, in addition to their diurnal motion; and a gradual declination of these *north* or *south*, producing the various seasons, is taught, with the hypothesis that there are three distinct paths in the heavens, an *inner*, *middle*, and *outer*. The inner corresponds to our summer solstice or the tropic of Cancer; the middle to our equinox, or the equator; and the outer to our winter solstice, or the tropic of Capricorn. The inner part is said to be nearest mount *Meru*, and corresponds with the hot season; the middle to the rainy; and the outward, farthest removed, to the cold, when the sun is most distant. They are otherwise named the paths of the goat, ox, and elephant; and as the latter animal delights in cold and damp places, he appears to have been selected to distinguish the season when the sun, passing to the south, brings the termination of rain and the production of cold.

Analogy between the Bauddha mansions, and celestial ones of Pythagoras.

Mr. Colebrooke, at the end of his observations on the philosophy of heterodox Indian Sectaries, remarks that the Pythagoreans and Occellus, divide like the Bauddhas the parts of the world into heaven, earth, and intermediate region. The former was occupied by the gods, the middle by demons and other spiritual creatures, and the earth by men. In the life of Pythagoras, by Aristides,‡ it is said that his followers taught the existence of twelve celestial orbits; of which the first and most remote was the firmament, where resided the supreme God, and other beings endowed with intelligence, similar to the ideas of Plato, and those called gods by Aristotle. Then followed the seven planets, the mansions of fire, of air, of water, and ultimately the earth. While we recognize in such doctrines the same notions as taught by the Bauddhas, we cannot fail to notice that the former assign the same limits to mutation and change, *in these mansions*, as have been fixed by the latter.

* Hodgson's Sketch of Buddhism, Trans: R: A: S: Vol. II page 230, and the note at page 20 of this work.

† The ancients supposed human souls were invested after death with a subtile body, which was inseparable from it, until the time of its final exemption from transmigration; and this they called the σῶμα αὐγοειδὲς, or luciform body, spoken of by the New Platonists, or Christian writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, who repeated the tenets of Pythagoras and Plato. See Colebrooke's Translation of the Sankhya Karika, page 136.

‡ Photii Bibliotheca, page 1315.

CHAPTER III.

Translations of the Cave Inscriptions, shewing their connexion with the Bauddha Religion.

Inscriptions embody religious and historical information.

The more intimately we become acquainted with the principles of the Bauddha religion, the stronger must be our conviction that such principles have their origin in physical and metaphysical opinions, on the subject of a First Cause, made applicable to explain the phenomena of the world and of human nature; and that such opinions were closely connected with the worship of the heavenly bodies, and the Sabean idolatry. This Sabeism too, instead of being engrafted on the Bauddha system, appears to have preceded it, and to have been the source from whence it sprung. But whatever be the conclusion deduced regarding the relative antiquity of the two systems, their present union in Siam and Tartary, has been indicated by preceding observations; and the translated Cave Inscriptions will tend to establish a fact that the *astrological* belief in spirits, which commenced with the first astronomical observations, was early connected, in the *Greek* and *Bauddha* schools of philosophy, with opinions of those who essayed to explain the origin of the world, and the nature of that cause producing its versatile effects. *Philo*, a Jewish writer of Alexandria, acquainted with the philosophical opinions of the Orientals and those of the Greeks, endeavoured, some time before the Christian era, to convince the world of the excellence and superiority of a *secret system of knowledge*, which had been long since founded in the bosom of the Jewish religion. Like the Bauddha system, it taught that the etherial region was peopled with inhabitants of an immortal nature; some of whom, kindred with the earth and addicted to its pleasures, descended to attach themselves to other spirits, for whom they had a worldly desire; but that those of them disgusted with the vanities of life, considering the body as a prison, fled on light wings to heaven, where they passed the remainder of their existence. Others of them, yet more pure and excellent, disdaining all the temptation that earth could offer, became the ministers of the supreme God, and the agents of the great King, seeing all and understanding all. Similar opinions are maintained by the Bauddhas regarding the origin of mankind; and Mr. Hodgson's account of this subject seems but a version of what is related in Genesis, about the association of the *Nephilims* with the daughters of men; * by which mankind, falling from their state of original purity, came under the dominion of the passions and a spirit of discord, as already noticed in the general principles of this religion.† The book of Enoch, quoted by St. Jude, records legends of the Angels having descended from heaven, and produced giants from the daughters of men; and of their having instructed these in the arts of war and luxury; giving an evidently superstitious version of the same story as related in Genesis. Matter too, in his history of Gnosticisme, and its influence on the religious and philosophical sects in the first ages of Christianity, narrates that, in the second century of our era, Philon of Byblos, in Phœnicia, published *Sanchoniatho's Phœnician Cosmogony and Theogony*, teaching, like the book of Enoch, that mankind, falling from their state of original purity, came under the dominion of the passions and a spirit of discord; and that siderial spirits, by generative creation, descending from heaven, underwent successive degrees of degradation. The same story, somewhat differently related, is known among the Ceylon Buddhists;‡ and the Nepal statement of this history is that the half male and female beings, inhabiting, in light and purity, the *Abhaswara Bhuvana*, and who had never yet in their minds conceived the sexual desire, or known the distinction of sex, having eaten of the earth, at the instigation of *Adi-Buddha*, lost the power of flying back to their *Bhuvana*, and were obliged to remain on earth; where they lived on its fruits, and associated with each other.§ This legend was undoubtedly taken from a confused idea of Mosaic history; and may have been introduced into the Bauddha religion when the *Indian Astronomers*, with a knowledge of it, framed the system of the *Varaha Kalpa*. But on this head, and the connexion of the Bauddha belief with the worship of the sun, the translated inscriptions will afford information; and are at least the only authentic documents of antiquity, which embody primitive principles of this religion beyond the chance of sectarial interpolation.

* Genesis Chapter VI. v. 2 to 12.

† See Chapter II of the present work.

‡ Turnour's *Bauddha Annals*, Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society for August 1838, p. 694.

§ See Hodgson's second question in his Sketch of Buddhism T. R. A. S. Vol. II page 234.

Offerings to the Sun and Stars.

In the preceding Chapter we have shewn, on the authority of Masudi, that the general principles of Bauddha belief conform to the tenets of the *Samaneans*, or *Sabeans;* an opinion which is confirmed by a passage of the *Mefatih-el-olum*, quoted in Dr. Sprenger's translation of the first part of Masudi, published by the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain:* and is yet more clearly established by the following translated inscriptions, which record the presentation of offerings to, or are dedications to the Sun, and other planetary bodies. One of these taken from a cave near the summit of the Nanch Ghat, and published in the Royal Asiatic Society's Quarterly Journal, No. VIII, was translated by the late Mr. Prinsep † who reads

(Ari) Yadhammasa namo! Indasa namo! Sakesanam, vasudevanam, chanda suriyanam, dhammavatanam, vatanam va lokapalanam, yama varuna audheravána, namo

translating it,

Glory to the supreme *Dharma* (or virtue)! Glory to Indra! To the lords of *Sakra* (?) the *Vasudevas*, to the sun and moon, to the sanctified by *Dharma*, to venerated (saints,) and the *Lokapalas* (upholders of the world), to *Yama*, *Varuna*, and the spirits of the air, glory!

The above passage, which makes mention of *Indra*, the god of the firmament, of the *Vasudevas*, modifications of being emanating from a first cause, and the *Lokapalas*, or eight regents of the heavenly quarters, points out to us how intimately connected were once the principles of belief, common to the *Buddhists* and *Brahmans*, prior to the origin of those philosophical tenets, regarding the nature of a first cause, which created dissension and disunion between the rival sectaries.

The next inscription, of similar purport, No. 1. plate XXXVI, from the obelisk at Karli, is preceded by an attempted representation of the *Sun*, resembling that on coin No. 2. of the Indo-Sassanian series, published by Prinsep.‡ It records the dedication of a *lion pillar* to the *Sun*, and reads

Maharavisa § *gatiputasa, atimitra nakasa, Sihothaba* ‖ *danum.*

translated,

The gift of a lion-pillar to the great Sun, the purified of nature, the supreme leader of Mitra.

No. 3. Inscription, plate XLIX, from the *Caves* of Junir, is of the same kind as the preceding, and reads,

Tara kachakanam, lanko dyanam, tananam budha mitasa, budha ratanasacham vigatam, dayadhama:

translated,

A gift of compassionate virtue to the shining stars, the paradise of Lanka, the resting places of *Buddha Mitra*, and the emancipated jewels of wisdom.

Buddha Mitra, or Maitreya, the one yet to appear, for the renovation of the world, has according to the above inscription his residence fixed in the heavenly bodies, or that Island of the southern quarter of the world, which some identify with Ceylon, but which is equally venerated by Buddhist and Brahmanical sectaries. The inscription is preceded by the *Swastik*, or mystical cross, which the Chinese Buddhist traveller Fa-Hian, who visited India A. D. 399, mentions as being the distinguishing symbol of the (Taosse,) or doctors of the Chinese rational system; who, as shewn in the last chapter, held ¶ opinions similar to those of the ancient Sabeans.

* El Masudis Historical Encyclopædia, translated from the Arabic by Aloys Sprenger M. D. Vol. 1, page 320.

† Prinsep's Journal, Vol. VII, page 566.

‡ See his Journal Vol. VII, plate XIV.

§ *Maharavisa*, महारविस, this is the fourth, or locative case of the second Pali declension, in relation to the word *danum*, a gift; though Mr. Prinsep, in his reading of the same line (Journal VI, page 1044.) has erroneously put it in the genotive case. If the fourth letter of the original inscription had a point in the middle, we might read it थ *tha* in place of व *va*, and instead of *Maharavisa gati*, the inscription would give *Maharatha Sugata*, meaning the great vehicle of *Sugata* or Buddha; allusive as would appear to the sun's influence amid the signs of the Zodiac; to which part of the Bauddha system of belief, the worship of the planetary powers, and the efficacy of amulets and charms, for averting the evil influence of the stars, there are many references in the Cave inscriptions, and in the Bauddha scriptures.

‖ *Sihothaba*, which is the Pali substitution for *Sinha Sthamba* सिंहस्तंभ of the Sanskrit, and means a lion-pillar, indicates that the Bauddha sectaries, used the *Prakrit Language* in their proclamations, though Mr. Hodgson is of opinion, that the basis of their philosophical dogmata were enounced, defended, and systematised in Sanskrit.

¶ See page 41. According to Diodorus, the inhabitants of Ceylon, during the first century of the Christian era, were worshippers of the *Sun;* and about the same time Pliny, in Book VI, Chapter 22, of his natural history, tells us that the only god worshipped by the people of *Taprobane*, or Ceylon, was *Hercules*, another designation for the deified sun. He also adds that their prince was arrayed in the same dress, as worn by *Bacchus* in ancient times, but that the common people were clad in the habit of *Arabians*, similar probably to the dress of the figures, in Plate III of the present work. Certain it is, that at this time Sabean customs and belief prevailed in the island, whatever may be said to the contrary by its native Bauddha annals; and to Patriarchal traditions, regarding-

The preceding inscription and the one following are to be found on a Vihara, situated to the right of the principal temple in the centre of the excavations of the southern hill of *Junir*, or rather *Sewnir*, by which name this part of the Bauddha excavations are more commonly known. A drawing of the principal temple is given in Plate XVI; and the first of the two inscriptions, which is well preserved, is carved on a tablet smoothed for its reception, while the following one is on the side of the Vihara further to the right.

No. 4 Inscription, which stands No. VIII of Plate L, reads,

Ganachariyanam, vira nathayam. talasanam—tivasunam, ativasunam, virunam—tayam, tichaityasanam-tivasanam danam.

The inscription translated is,

To the spiritual guides of the congregation, the powerful spirits of the air, the *Vasus* of the three worlds, the *Ati-Vasus*, the three powerful ones, the three *Chaityas* of the three wise *Vasus*, a gift.

The last part of the inscription is imperfect where the face of the rock is broken; but in such part of it as remains, we may read in the seventh line *Guha-pati*, the master of the house, and again in the eighth line *tananam dananam*, *gifts to the resting places*, allusive, as appears from other inscriptions, to the course of the *Sun* amidst the signs of the zodiac and places of the planets, connected with systems of Bauddha astrological diagrams, and siderial astrology. *

In this inscription, the *Vasus*, or manifestations of the Supreme Being, abiding in all things, and identified by the orthodox Hindus as *Vishnu*, otherwise denominated *Vasudeva*, are objects of Bauddha worship; and are proofs of the intimate connexion and similarity that existed in the theological ideas of both *Bauddhas* and *Vishnavas*. This connexion will probably explain why in the Puranas, and system of orthodox Hinduism, *Buddha*, or the Supreme Being, according to the *atheistical or theistical ideas of his followers*, is made to be the ninth incarnation of Vishnu; who, in the Vishnu Purana is called *Vasudeva*, and considered by the wise in four different conditions. viz.—*Pradhana*—(primary or crude matter,) *Purusha* (spirit,) *Vyakta* (visible substance,) and *Kala* (time).

The 5th inscription, which stands No IV. of Plate LI from the caves at Nasick, reads:—

Siddham! rajna kshaparatasa kshatrapasa nrippanasa jamatra-dinak putrasa usharadatasa kra-deva-naya data mitrya daya-dhama: navarka.

And may be translated,

Be it auspicious! the compassionate gift of the son of King Kshaparata, ruler of the Kshatriya tribe, and protector of men, the lord Dinaka, resplendent as the morn, to the deity *Kradeva*, the bountiful *Mitra*; the new sun.

In Mr. Prinsep's Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol: V. under coin XXI, plate III, which is represented by No 27 of the supplementary plate of coins in the present work, we have a Gnostic representation of the sun, or the god of the Abrax, depicted with serpentine feet, and accompanied by a legend in the cave character *Thaka Kaka*; representing as would appear the genius of evil, to which the 365 intelligences, composing the divine plerome, are incessantly opposed.† It is possible that the *Kradeva* of this Nasick inscription is the same genius of evil, worshipped by the Sabeans, Fire-worshippers, and Christian Gnostics; and who on one side of No 28 coin is called *Kraka*, while on the reverse the word *Mithra* is written; or this may be *Krakuchanda*, the first of the five Buddhas of the present Kalpa, and the predecessor of Sakya.‡

On the reverse of the coins of Vologesis the Parthian king, who lived A. D. 52, and is well known to Roman History, the sun represented as a human figure is denominated *Kraka*: and on coins No 9 and 10 of those published by Lieut. Cunningham, in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, No 105 for 1840, we find written in the alphabet of the Cave inscriptions the following legend—*Krakasa phrianakasa*, with the word *Nama* on the obverse, and which if translated into English, would be *adoration to the sun god, king of snakes. Phrianak* is the name among the Burmese followers of Buddha, for *Ananta* or *Rajanaga*, the king of snakes; who is represented in the *Phrabat* or solar foot of

the fall of Adam, common to the *Arabs* and early *Bauddhas*, may be traced the analogy of their belief, that the figure of Buddha's foot, existing at the top of Adam's peak in Ceylon, was a type of our great ancestor, acknowledged by the inhabitants of the island long previous to the arrival of the Portuguese on the shores of India. The Mahomedan author Masudi, A. D. 943, makes mention of mount *Rahwan*, and that Adam descended on it when expelled from Paradise.

* See journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I. p. 441, wherein I have translated the inscriptions from the caves of Beira and Bajah.

† See Historie de Gnosticisme Vol. II Explication des Planches page 71.

‡ See supplementary plate of coins in the present work.

Buddha. *Kraka*, the same as *Grag* in Armenian, is as would appear an original Scythian word, which Mr. Newmaun, in his translation of the history of Vartan, page 81, says was in common use among the Armenians to designate the holy fire, which the Parsees name, in *Zend*, *Azeran*. Further proof of this connexion between the principles of Bauddha belief and those of the *Sabeans* and *Fire-worshippers*, is found in Inscription XIV, plate XLIV, from the Kanari caves; where the first line reads—*Satharkaya Gatma—putasa samasa rayarasa*, meaning *to the excellent one of the sun, the heavenly Gautama, the supreme king*, &c. &c. The Bactrian and Mithraic coins also warrant us in tracing this connexion, which is confirmed by a curious passage of Arrian's Parthics, wherein it is said that *Spartembas*, a friend of the conqueror *Bacchus*, dying left his kingdom to his son *Budyas*, who after a reign of 20 years was succeeded by his son *Cradevas*. The resemblance of *Budyas* to *Buddha*, and the perfect Sanskrit termination *Deva*, coupled with *Kra*, the name for the sun, are striking coincidences which justify the belief that the mythology and idolatry of eastern Persia and of India, during the existence of the Parthian and Sassanian kingdoms, took its rise in a system of eclecticism, on the subject of the deities in both countries, which originated soon after the time when the Greeks, who accompanied Alexander the Great into India, found that the *Suraseni* worshipped deities similar in character to Bacchus and Hercules.* History also informs us that the Parthian Kings of Persia, particularly from the period of their intercourse with the Romans, cultivated an acquaintance with Chaldean and Greek philosophy, and occasionally represented on their coins, current in Eastern Persia, Syrian and Grecian deities; encouragement being thus given to an eclectic system, by which various nations of antiquity claimed a common origin for their gods. The series of coins, called by Professor H. H. Wilson Indo-Parthian, afford undoubted evidence of such having been the practice, on the Indian side of the Persian King's dominions; and the devices on the reverse of the coins of Kodes,† or *Arsaces Gotarz*, are the head of a horse, representing the sun, and a standing figure of Hercules, with a halo round his head, and the legend - - ΡΔΗΟΡΟΜΑΚΑΡ - -, of which the last is the Phœnician name for the Grecian god. The appellation of the deity here is but a contracted form of מלכר (Melkar) or Hercules of Tyre; of whose worship Gotarz was a partial follower, as noticed in the History of Tacitus.‡ The first part of the inscribed legend, of which one letter has been obliterated, reads, ΑΡΔΑΘΡΟ, and signifies the great light: *Athro* being the same as the Zend word *Atars*, a name of fire, and the Pali word *Atho*,§ or the light of the sun.

The Parthians appear to have had a superstitious veneration for their Princes, so that they never approached them but in the most humble manner, touching the ground with their mouths:‖ and when the later dynasty of the Arsacides, which commenced with Arsaces Vonones II, younger brother of Arsaces Artabanus III, had departed from the spirit of the ancient elementary worship of Persia, and grouped around the sun many deified beings, ¶ we find that the Royal Governors of Media, in the middle of the first century of Christ, claimed for themselves divine honors in conjunction with the deities depicted on their coins: a pretension conformable to the principles of Bauddha belief, which teach that by means of abstinence, the practice of benevolence and virtue, and the abstract contemplation of the intellectual principle, men can raise themselves from mortals to divinities. We accordingly find, on the reverse of the coins of Vonones II, a Bactrian Pali legend, around a seated figure of *Hercules*,** which reads [illegible] *Balhara patisa nama*, and signifies *glory to the supreme lord*. On the coins too of his son Pacorus, the Governor of Media, and brother of Vologesis II, A. D. 52, we have the Greek title on the obverse, ΣΠΑΛΥΡΙΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ plainly intimating that he was brother of the King, while on the reverse, around a figure of Hercules or Jupiter, is the Bactrian Pali legend [illegible] *alabarputasa dhamiasa balafarmasa*. Here *balafarma* is written for *balavarma*, or chief of the *Kshetrya* tribe, and the meaning of the whole legend seems to be *of the chosen son*†† *the just chief of the warrior tribe*. The same eclectic system of adopting

* Notices of Bactrian and Mithraic coins, in the Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I page 302.

† The devotion of this Prince to the worship of the sun is further shewn by the adopted title of *Hyr-Kodes*, which appears on many of his coins and is an evident derivation from the Zend *Huere*, the same as the Hebrew אור *Aur*, "the sun," "or light."

‡ Tacit: Annal: lib: 12 c: 14.

§ See Pali Grammar and Vocabulary by the Reverend B. Clough, printed at Colombo, 1824 p: 4 of the publication. It has been already noticed, on Captain Low's authority, in the Introduction to the present work, that the Bauddhists of Siam worship the sun under the name of *Pra Athit*, "supreme light," affording additional evidence that the principles and practice of Buddhism, though originating in India, have been greatly modified and influenced by a foreign admixture of mythological ideas. See Introduction p: 5.

‖ Strab. lib. 13, Agathias, lib. 3. ¶ Wilson's Ariana Antiqua, p. 360.

** See Prinsep's Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, June 1835, p. 342.

†† See Wilson's Ariana Antiqua, page 318. *Alabaraputasa*, which is intended to represent the Greek appellation Adelphos, is apparently a compound derivative of Chaldi or Phelvi and Pali: as בר Bar with the article in Chaldi would signify "*the chosen*." See Gesenius's Hebrew and Chaldi Lexicon.

divinities, which had been introduced by the Arsacidæ, was imitated and followed by the Indo-Scythians, or the *Dahæ*, *Sacæ*, and *Hircanians;* who, at various periods, were called in to assist in the quarrels of the Arsacidæ, particularly those which took place after the death of Arsaces Phrahates IV. Coins therefore of the *Hercules* or *Jupiter* types, bearing the Indo-Parthian, or Indo Scythian names of Azes, Gondophares, Kadphises, and Kanerki, have on the reverse the names *Krakasa*, (of the holy fire,) and of *Saka* or Indra, an appellation also made applicable to *Buddha* and *Jupiter*; which last, Diodorus Siculus tells us, was called by the Atlantides, Zena the son of Maia. Extended as were the tribes of the *Sacæ* or *Sakas* over the west of India, in the first ages of Christianity, the absence of all evidence as to the influence of this eclectic system among the early followers of Buddha, or of its existence in the Cave Inscriptions, would be indeed proof that the Indian Mythological system had borrowed nothing from the fables and Mythological ideas of the West; though the contrary be the fact, and is not only manifest in the Cave Inscriptions, but in the Hindu legends of *Uma* and *Krishna*.

No. 2 Inscription, XII of Plate XXXVIII, is found immediately over the Dehgop at Karli, and reads

Seharkataya tanam dhamuta rayanam, ganakasa satya metasa sam-sirinam thaba danam.

And may be translated,

To the three eminent ones of the Sun, the resting place of the most righteous of Kings, with the glories of the congregated assembly of pure friendship, the gift of a pillar.

Here the three eminent ones are the three Buddhas of the esoteric doctrine, who according to the moral agency, translation, or revolution, (*in Sanskrit* Yana,) exerted over one's understanding, in order to attain different degrees of perfection, are characterized by various terms. The first, as explained by M. Remusat, is that of the Buddhas, (*Mahayana*,) who by their example draw all beings into *nirvana*, extinction or quiescence; and who are here represented by the *Dehgop* or symbol of the *triune* being, which is separately invoked, in the Bauddha prayers, as *Buddha*, *Dharma*, and *Sanga*, and called "the three honorable, adorable, and venerable beings." But while the Dehgop represents the triune being of creation, as an original part of *Sakya* or *Gautama's* doctrine of Buddhism, it may be also considered as a type of elemental creation, being an aggregation of the elements analogous to the *mundane egg*, or corporeal frame of the five elements, (*Dhyani Buddhas,*) viewed as the secondary causes of creation, according to the more decidedly theistical system of Buddhism, which acknowledges an intellectual essence as supreme, and calls it *Adi Buddha*. The believers in the latter doctrine, in A. D. 399, are distinguished by the Chinese Buddhist priest *Fa Hian*, as sectaries differing from the primitive followers of *Sakya*.*

After the origin of the *Zendiks*, or followers of *Mani*, and particularly during the reign of Shapur II, (from A. D. 310 to 380,) there appears to have been a strong tendency towards union of the Bauddha and Magian faith; and the worship of the Sun or *Mithras* unquestionably exercised powerful influence over all other prevailing religions of the time. This prince is depicted in the fresco paintings at the caves of Bamian (Plate LIII), and is at once recognized by the same head dress, as appears on his coins, being surmounted by a pair of wings and a globe.

No. 7 Inscription of the same plate, which is written with white paint, in one of the side caves at Karli, is further evidence of this connexion and reads,

Sidharka vasu thapanasa sari parma wacha ravinivasa thakara magana pati ganaya—deva savitri!

Of which the first part of the translation is,

The illustrious supreme word of the Sun-born lord of the Magas of Thakara to the congregation, during the established year of Sidhara: O divine Sun!

Proofs in the cave inscriptions that these excavations were occupied by people of foreign faith and origin.

There are others of the inscriptions, which contain foreign names and appellations that leave no doubt of these caves of Western India having been occupied by sectaries, both of foreign faith and origin; among whom the *Magas*, mentioned by the Puranikas, who came originally, as asserted by Wilford, from the *Dwipa* of *Saka*, and gave name to the province of *Magadha*, were the same as the *Sakas* or Sacæ. In my anniversary discourse on Oriental Literature,† I noticed that in the *Bhavishya Purana*, these Magas ‡ are described as silent worshippers of the sun; and are associated by the compiler of this Purana with the fire-worshippers of Iran, under the general term of *Mogh*.§ This identification is quite in accordance with what is known, from the Geography of Ptolemy, that a race of foreigners, denominated *Sadinoi*, from the Sanskrit *Sadhana*, lords

* Relative to the present inscription, it is here necessary to notice an error I made in reading *Sanser-ratha* for *sam-sirinam*: Journal Bombay Asiatic Society, Vol. I, p. 438.

† Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. II. p. 486.

‡ The Pali word *Magga* signifies fire.

§ See preface to Wilson's translation of the Vishnu Purana, p. 40.

or masters, inhabited the mountains of the Dekhan, and were otherwise named the *Tabaswi Magi*: whose capital was *Banawasi*; of which the remains are yet to be seen southward of the Dharwar Collectorate, near the sources of the Wardha river, that rises in the Bednore district. From an inscription, in the Maga language, found at Islamabad and dated the 14th Magha, in the Samvat year 904, or A. D. 848, they appear to have been Bauddhas *

No. 8 Inscription, which is XI of plate XXXVIII, and found on a pillar on your left entering the Karli cave, reads,

Dhana kakaja yavanasa Seha dhyanam-thamba danam.

Its translation being,

The pillar gift of Dhana Kakaja the Yavan, the pre-eminent of abstract beings. —

The term *Yavana*, used in this inscription, though applicable to all barbarians on the west of India, was formerly used to designate the Greeks, particularly those of Bactria, and all such as were subject to the empire of the Seleucidæ; whose country, in the inscription decyphered by Mr. Prinsep, (Journal As. Soc. Beng. Feb. 1838) is called *Yona*, and appears under the same name in Mr. Turnour's translation of the Mahawanso; where it is also called *Aparantaka*, or the western countries, of which *Alasadda*, (probably the Paropamisan Alexandria,) was the capital. But this term in an extended sense, however applicable to barbarians in general, would appear to be meant for a Greek—whose name is found repeated here, and in the inscriptions at Junir, with the some symbolical mark preceding them as may be found on the coins of *Kadphises* supporting bilingual inscriptions in Greek and Bactrian Pali. †

No. 9 Inscription, which is VIII of Plate XXXVII, from Karli reads,

Dhana Kakaja-Sathakasa seha-datasa danam. Ya-ramya.

And translated is,

A gift to *Dhana Kakaja* become Buddha, the pre-eminent giver. Oh, illusion!

In this inscription the term *Sathaka*, might be translated *making venerable*, and as *Sattha* is one of the Pali names of Buddha, such is evidently meant, as above rendered, to be applicable to a Buddha or saint. The same person is again mentioned in the following inscription from the Sainhadri Caves north of Junir.

No. 10 Inscription, X of Plate L, reads,

Dhamnak seniya satagatam pada cha daya dhama.

And translated is,

A foot mark-relic and a gift of faith to Dhamnak Sena become purity.

In the above inscription *pada* seems erroneously spelt with *dh* in place of *d* dental, though the text will scarcely admit of any other interpretation than the one given.

The same person is again mentioned in XIII of Plate L, which is here inserted as having been taken from the Caves at Junir, though I am not quite certain whether it is not to be found on one of the pillars in the Cave of Karli.

No. 11 Inscription, reads,

Dhana Kakaja Usata-data putasa mitra vanakasa thaba danam.

The translation is,

The pillar of *Dhana Kakaja* the son of *Usatadata*, the priest of Mitra, a gift.

It is possible that the *Dhana Kakaja*, mentioned in this and the other inscriptions, is the same as *Kaka Raja* of the Rashtra Kuta family of the *Yadavas*, whose Copper-plate grants of land, translated by Mr. Wathen, Mr. Reid, and Ball Gangadhar Shastree, are of much interest and importance in relation to the history of the Jaina religion.‡ The earliest Members of this family appear to have reigned towards the end of the 7*th* century of Christ, and one of them Amoghaversha I, a Jain prince of the Arcot district, in the end of the 9th century, was cotemporary with *Jina Sina Acharya*, the reputed author of the Jaina Puranas.§ If the person commemorated in these Cave Inscriptions be the same with *Kaka Raja*, the appellation *Yavanasa*, by which he is designated at Karli, would indicate that the *Yadavas* and *Rashtra Kuta*

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. II, p. 383.

† See Wilson's Ariana Antiqua plate 10, figs. 9 and 15. Also fig. 13 of the supplementary plate of coins in the present work.

‡ See Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. V p. 105. Ditto—No. X of the same work; p. 350. Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. I, p. 209 and Vol II, p. 373.

§ Wilson's Mackenzie Collection, Vol. I pref. p. xxvii.

tribe were of foreign origin, probably from the westward of the Indus, and not considered members of the Hindu community. Though nothing positive can be asserted on this subject, the opinion that these tribes were of foreign origin is strengthened by our knowledge of the fact, that the *Yadavas*, both in the Puranas and inscriptions from the west of India, are associated with the Indo-Scythian tribe of *Hayahayas*, called individually Gandharas and Balikas; who are without doubt the Hyathelites or Haytelas from the districts of Khutlan and Cheganian, and in the reign preceding that of Sagara overran the west of India, along with the Sakas and other foreign tribes.*

No 12 Inscription, written over a water reservoir, and which is IX of Plate XLI from the Caves of Kanari, reads,

Wacha malikasa hiranakasya, kahan mitasa, Sulisadatasa adi dayadhama. Maga.

And translated means,

This tank is the pious work of Sulisadata, (*in obedience to*) the word of the radical golden originator of all things, the prophet of friendship.

The above inscription is divided by a perpendicular line from another in the same locality, which reads,

Saparata nagamasa sami kapa sakasa pada dayadhama;

And translated is,

A foot mark relic of the Ophite worshipper Saparata, lord of the Kappo (*era*) of Saka, a pious act of faith.

The name of the person who caused this tank to be excavated again occurs in an inscription at Junir, IX of Plate L, where he is called the son of Kaliata, and lord of the city of *Thakupur;* of which mention has been already made, in one of the previous inscriptions of Karli, as a town over which ruled the chief of the Magas, who were Bauddha worshippers of the sun and of fire. It is worthy of notice that after the Swastic mark, which occurs at the end of the first part of the Kanari inscription, the word Maga is written, shewing that the principles of religious belief, embodied in this inscription, were professed by these people, who, as we have seen, were of foreign origin and faith. If I am right in translating *Nagama* as a Prakrit attributive, signifying "a serpent worshipper," the Magas were also followers of that general system of Gnosticism which borrowed its doctrines from ancient Egypt, and those of Judaism and Christianity, and assimilated the Pantheism of its religious belief with that of the Sabæans and disciples of Mani. That the person who excavated the *tank* was at least a worshipper of the Sun, may be inferred from the translation of his name Sulisadata, "given by the sun," equivalent, as Mr Prinsep remarks in his observations on the Junir inscription,† to *Apollodotus* of the Greeks; and though such combined idolatry, as the adoration of the sun and serpents, may at first sight appear somewhat at variance with Bauddha profession, and denounced by pure Buddhism as heretical, it is well known to have preceded the latter in Ceylon, and to have been even incorporated with this system in not very remote times. One thing seems certain that the word *Kahan* made use of in this inscription, is no other than the Hebrew and Syriac appellation for *a priest or astrologer*, and of which such frequent mention is made in the earlier writings of the Arabs previous to the time of Mahomed, when these people were followers of the *Samanean or Sabean faith*—a period to which must be traced, as elsewhere noticed, that analogy, between the traditions of the *Arabs* and *Bauddhas*, who agree in identifying *Adam's peak* in the Island of Ceylon as the place on which both Adam and Buddha descended from Paradise and left an impression of their feet. The former among Bauddhas, evidently the same as the great ancestor of mankind, is called *Maha Sammato*, (the great elect,) who at the commencement of the present *Kappo* of creation, was elected to render mankind happy and righteous, when the creatures of the *Abhassara-brahmaloko* dying, through the influence of passion and desire, gave rise to apparitional birth and returned to this world of sin and impurity.‡ The intercourse which, in the second century of Christ, is known from Arrian's Periplus, to have subsisted between Egypt, Arabia, and the shores of India, will at once account for this interchange of mythological sentiment met with in the Cave Inscriptions; for there is great reason to think that the *Thakapur*, made mention of here, is no other than the city of *Tagara*, the great emporium of the country of *Aryaca* at this time, and the common resort of the Greeks trading to India; who had, for some unexplained cause, been interdicted from visiting it at the period when Arrian wrote, and were directed by the sovereigns of the country to confine their commercial transactions to the harbour of Barygaza, or the modern Broach.

No 13 Inscription, from the Caves of Junir, of which mention has been made in the preceding observations, and Lithographed IX of plate L, reads,

*Wilson's Vishnu Purana 4 to p. 418, at Note 20, and Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society Vol. II p. 180.

† Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society for 1837, Vol vi. p. 1046.

‡ Turnour's Examination of the Pali Buddhistical Annals No 3 in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, 1838 p. 697.

Kala-atisa Hiranyak putasa, Sulisadatasa Thakapurisa sachaitya-garh niyuta dayadhama.

And may be translated,

This Chaitya for the attendants on the temple, a pious gift of faith from Salisadata of *Thakapur*, son of Kaliata, (*supreme time*) the golden lord.

The same person is thus mentioned in the following inscription at Junir, No. 14, preceded and followed by the Swastic mark, which is XII of Plate L, reads,

Kali-ataka Saka-Hara-putasa, Sovanakarasa seyakasa, patha dayadhama.

And translated is,

The prayer of Kaliata, son of the Saka chief, the pre-eminent golden lord, a pious act of faith.

This inscription may be taken as undeniable evidence of the extension of the power of the Sakas, or Sakya race, over the west of India, soon after the destruction of the Greek Empire of Bactria, and in the early ages of Christianity. It is a fact of considerable importance in relation to the early history of this country, and to all investigations intended to determine whether any of the original tribes residing west of the Indus, previous to the institution of the present amalgamated system of Hinduism, had been incorporated with the *Kshatrya*, or warrior tribe of the Hindus. No opinion, expressed by Colonel Tod in his history of the *Rajputs*, was more assailed on its first publication than the one admitting that a body of Scythians, or at least of cognate Indian tribes having Scythian manners, had been incorporated at an early period with the proud Hindus of Rajputana; and although Mr. Elphinstone, whose opinions are always so worthy of deference, questions whether any of the Rajput tribes, except that of *Yadu*, ever came from the west-ward of the Indus, later investigations into the text of the Vedas have confirmed the soundness of Colonel Tod's opinion, and tend to shew that the *Kshatrya Rishi himself*, the celebrated *Viswamitra*, who obtained Brahmanhood through devotion, came from the northwest, if not from the west bank of the Indus. It has been already shewn in this work that there was a connexion between the *Græco-Bactrian Kingdom*, and one of the Bauddha schools of philosophy, and both Arrian's Periplus and Ptolemy's Geography would authorize our opinion, that, in the second century of Christ, a Parthian dynasty, or at least an Indo-Scythian one, was in power over the Patalene, Saurashtra, and northern Gujarat, as far as the banks of the Nermada; from whence came the tribes of Brahmans, by whom Hinduism was introduced into Malabar and the Dekhan. The cities of Minagara in Sindh, Ozene or Ujain in Malwa, Tiagura and Nasica in the Dekhan, were esteemed by Ptolemy parts of Indo-Scythia; while mixed tribes of Indians speaking Prakrits, or dialects of the Sanskrit language, inhabited the Kohistan and country of Kabul. The greatest influx of the Sakas into India appears to have taken place during the reign of *Siladytia* I of Gujarat, or about the time of Shapur II of Persia. The history of Kashmir, however, states that their power and influence throughout India had been established before this time, but it was not till after the fall of the empire of *Maghada*, or in the end of the fifth century of our era, that these tribes of foreign origin were incorporated with the great body of the Hindus. This fact is attested by the narrative of the Vishnu Purana, which asserts that about this time *Viswa-sphatika* set up low castes in his kingdom, such as the *Kaivartas, Yadus, Pulindas,* and *Brahmans* of his own establishment. The principal city of the Sakya race was the Bauddha capital *Kapila-vastu*, in the neighbourhood of Oude, which is mentioned by the Bauddha annals, and early copper-plate grants in Sanskrit, under the name of *Sawatthipur**

No. 15 Inscription, from the Caves of Kanari, XVI of Plate XLV, reads,

Sava-Kala Atakasa Nagama Sagala-naka-manasa Nagamasa-Isi-palasa, Sapara-virasa, manapatano payatha lenum padava dayadhama.

And translated is,

The pious gift of a foot relic cave, and house for Buddha, in the city of contemplation, by that supreme deity the Gymnosophist Isipal, the intellectual chief of Sagala, the supreme naked ascetic of all time.

In a former part of this work it has been shewn that *Aria Deva* and *Buddha Palita*, the last of whom is probably the same as *Isi Pal*, were principal disciples of Nagarjuna, founder of the Madhyamika school of Bauddha philosophy, who lived and taught in the city of Sagala; and the present inscription only tends to confirm what was then said on the subject of a connexion between this city and the *Græco-Bactrian* kingdom. In another inscription the attributive word *Nagamasa* has been translated "an Ophite worshipper," but as I am not quite confident of accuracy in having done so, it is but right to point out that it may be equivalent to the Sanskrit term *Nagana*, signifying naked ascetic or Gymnosophist, the same as the *Digambara* order of the Jains; who, because they have thrown off the covering of the three Vedas,

* Turnour's Pali Bhuddistical Annals, Prinsep's Journal, 1837 p. 515.

are called in the Puranas *Naganas*,* but on this subject of doubt and uncertainty the reader must decide as to what may be the preferable explanation.

No. 16 inscription from the caves of Kanari, and XII of Plate XLII, reads,

Valitasa seha-ratarasa lenam dayadhamata.

Which translated is,

The cave of Valit, the eminent Rata (saint), a righteous gift.

Here the tribe of *Rata*, which I take to be the same as the *Rashtra Kuta* family mentioned in the preceding inscriptions, and in many copper plate grants of land met with in western India, seems to be of the same royal descent as that commemorated by a series of silver coins, of which the origin may be traced to the Greek coinage of Bactria. That this tribe was of Indo Parthian lineage appears equally probable, from *Valit* or *Balit* being a common appellation, in the first century of Christ, on the coinage of the Governors of Media belonging to the second family of the Arsacidæ. If we can trust the authority of Masudi, in whose age historical traditions of the former state of India were yet fresh, the dissension and disunion of the Indians first took place soon after the reign of King *Balit*; an assertion which may have reference to the great war of the Mahabarat, when difference of religious principles and belief induced the Indo-Scythian tribes, from the Oxus and west bank of the Indus, to make war on the pure Indian race dwelling eastward of the latter river. We have little but conjecture to aid us in forming an opinion as to what the differences were, though there exist reasonable grounds for supposing that these must have been the sectarian practices of the Buddhist and Vaishnava period, which had been introduced in opposition to the Vedic sacrificial ritual and worship of Agni, Indra, Mitra, and Varuna. This opinion of the subject is strengthened by what is expressed in the first part of the inscription below the feet of Buddha, No 1 Plate XLVIII, from the caves of Ajanta, which reads, *Ya dhammya Shakya bhiksha ta dingunakarasya Yadava*, meaning "Whatever is given through faith to Shakya, the same is given to the day producing Yadava," (Krishna); plainly intimating, I think, that the religious worship of *Buddha* and *Krishna* had a common origin, and that the latter deity is no other than the Apollo of the Greeks.

Inscription 17 from the caves of Nasik, No 1 of Plate L, reads,

Velidana putasa sakamasa Rama Kacha Kalpakayasa lenam, dayadhama.

Translated is,

The cave of Rama Kacha Kalpakaya, son of Velidana, a gift of faith.

The name of *Velidana* sounds strangely foreign, and very similar to that of *Valentin*, founder of one of the well known schools of Gnosticism, which flourished about A. D. 135, and derived its philosophical tenets from Egypt; regarding the individual mentioned in this inscription I can however assert nothing, and must leave the learned reader to draw his own inferences from the exposition of the inscriptions already given.

Others of the inscriptions have reference to well known founders of Indian schools of philosophy; two of whom, in their capacity of sages of the law, sanctioned the principles of the *Sankhya*, and are spoken of in the *Vedas*, and other early Sanskrit works, as mythological personages entitled to be held in reverence as saints.

The sages and founders of philosophical schools spoken of in the Inscriptions.

Inscription 18, and IV of Plate XXXVI, from the caves of Karli, reads,

Rajnava Satha putasa, samavira Devala Sathawachari, sata magtayava, mahadhamata, devasam satha metya purya devadikya, namo. Prithi Sakasaka, puta sugata devasa putina, ravinava satha putina, samadeva Nagama-data valarkasya sava pur Kalnana, Sakara Kaka daya. Maya!

Translated is,

Glory to the royal born saint, the purified Supreme Deity Devala, the venerable teacher, become emancipated truth, great and righteous, and first among the venerated deities of primeval friendship. The gift of Sakara Kaka, the supreme divine Nagama, ruling like the Sun over cities every where, son of the solar descended Buddha, son of the purified Sugata Deva, Sakasaka (chief) of the whole earth. Illusion!

Buddha, or Sakya Muni, the reputed author of the religious system which bears his name, is always classed by his Brahmanical opponents among those of the lunar race, though we have here a sun-descended Buddha, entitled as would appear to rank among the *Suryavansas*. The inscription leaves it doubtful whether Sakara Kaka, who presents his offering in honor of the emancipated Devala, intended to claim descent from this celebrated sage, while it seems to put forth some such pretension, by making him the offspring of the purified Sugata Deva, who, as one now become Buddha, is probably no other than Deva-

* See Wilson's Translation of the Vishnu Purana, Chap. xvii p. 334 Note 1.

la,* mentioned by writers on the Vedanta school as having countenanced the Sankhya one, with which latter the principles of the Bauddha religion are without doubt intimately connected.

Inscription 19, from Junir, XI of Plate L, reads,

Kapila upasikasa nathanatapasa upasikasa putasa Anadasa dayadhama, Chaitya ghar niyuta.

Translated is,

The Chaitya for the attendants on the temple, the righteous gift of Anada, son of one following religious austerity and the worship of the Nath, (*spirits of the air,*) the disciple of Kapila.

A re-examination of the original inscription seems desirable, as a doubt suggests itself whether the name, here written *Anada*, should not be *Ananda* the *Thero*, who was one of the Sakya race, and cousin-german of *Gautama*.† It would be curious were the original to confirm this conjecture, since it would be undeniable evidence of the revered Ananda, so celebrated among the Bauddhas, having been a follower of the Brahmanical sage *Kapila*, who founded the sect and school known by his name.

These inscribed fragments of religious principles and worship, addressed to Indra, Mitra, Varuna, and spirits of the air, made secondary only to the supreme *Dharma* the foundation of Bauddha belief, afford sufficient proof that the Sabæan ceremonies and ritual of the Vedas existed before Buddhism, and even in conjunction with it; and that the theology and metaphysical principles of the latter originated, as a sequence, from Indian schools of metaphysics and philosophy, some of which are held to be consistent with the doctrines of the Vedas, and others incompatable with them, particularly the Sankhya school of Kapila, the principles of which had the sanction of Devala, who has been already mentioned. The inscriptions occupy prominent and designed places in the Caves, to shew that they record the object of their original construction, and the nature of the religious ceremonies and ritual, held in veneration by the sectaries who expended their wealth in excavating, and frequenting them as the temples of their faith. Sakyamuni regarded as sinful the sacrificial ceremonies of the Vedas, and came to proclaim the tenets of a new religious faith, by inculcating adherence to the divine attribute of Dharma (Virtue), as the only attainable way for salvation; to be sought after by acts of mercy, charity, and chastity.‡ In some cases these great undertakings appear to have proceeded from private zeal, as recorded by the inscriptions, but in others from the royal authority of kings and chiefs, whose names are familiar in Buddhistical annals. Before proceeding to notice such, I may mention one inscription at Karli, which seems to have reference to the traditional appellation for this cave usually called *Ekvira*, meaning the one essence, or unity of the triune Being, whose several hypostases, admitted by Bauddha belief, are represented by the Dehgop of the cave, and recorded in previous inscriptions.

Objects of the original construction of the Cave temples, and names of persons who caused their excavation recorded by the inscriptions.

Inscription 20, II of Plate I, reads,

Guha tisa maha deva naka sama jaya paya.

Which translated is,

A house for him the great god, the heavenly supreme One, victorious and beloved.

The following seem decisive in resolving the great question of the origin and use of the Cave temples of Western India:

Inscription 21, being line 3d, IV of Plate LI, from the caves of Nasik, reads,

Siddham vasasa visadhamasa rajna kshaparatasa kshatrapasa nripapanasa jamatra-dinak putrena.

Translated is,

A habitation established, in the twentieth (*year*) of Dhamma, (*the faith,*) by the son of king Kshaparata, ruler of the Kshatrya tribe, and protector of men, the lord Dinaka.

It may here be asked what is meant by the twentieth of Dhamma, mentioned in this inscription? And the reply will probably be found in the substance of remarks before made on No 6 inscription from Karli, that after the origin of the followers of Mani, in the reign of Shapur I, and particularly during that of his successor of the same name, an union of the Bhauddha and Magian tenets had been effected in Eastern Persia, which communicated its influence to the then prevailing religious system of Western India; a relation which is still further established by the Indo-Sassanian coins extracted from the *Manikyala* tope in the Punjab, and so well illustrated by Mr. Prinsep;§ who has successfully substantiated the ingrafting of fire-worship on the native stock of the Buddhist and Brahmanical faiths.

* Mr Colebrooke's Analysis of the *Uttara Mimansa*, in the Translation of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol II p.19.

† See Turnour's examination of the Pali Buddhistical Annals, in Prinsep's Journal 1837, p. 514, and translation of the Mahawanso, p. 13.

‡ See Introduction to this work, p. 2.

§ Prinsep on specimens of Hindu coins descended from the Parthian type, and of the ancient coins of Ceylon, in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society for 1837, p. 288.

Inscription 22, III of Plate XXXVI, from Karli, reads,

Vijayagata savajagatpalana shila ghar Harina thapatam : Javudipa Maharaja utamvira.

Translated is,

A house for meditation established by the Lion Vijaya, (*the vanquisher*) protecting the whole world, and most powerful of the kings of Jambudwipa (*India*).

The Rev. Dr. J. Wilson decyphered this inscription several years ago, and kindly presented me with the translation. I have in part altered both the reading and rendering of the inscription, though the general sense is preserved. Dr. Wilson reads, for *shila ghar harina*, "sahaya raharini," and excepting the misspelt word *ghar* for *garh* (a house) in the former, I have no doubt that my own is the correct reading of the inscription. Vijaya, the emperor of *Jambudwipa*, here referred to, is mentioned by Mr. Turnour in his translation of the Mahawanso, under the year 543 B. C. about which time Dr. Wilson thought it probable the caves had been designed and excavated; but since there are undeniable and intentional perversions of historical data, in the first centuries of the Buddistical era, by which Vijaya's landing in Ceylon is made to agree with the day on which Sakya expired, it may be well doubted whether this cave can be so ancient as the inscription would make it, if the chronology of the Mahawanso be admitted as correct; particularly as the subsequent inscription more directly ascribes the origin of the cave to one of the later kings of Ceylon.

Inscription 23 from Karli, V of Plate XXXVII, reads,

Yamuamamajam aumacha. Paragatagama sava thala (sthalla) *usata* (vasata) *lokasa vathavana privajati* (privajyati) *talena rata-sakyasa; mahasriya yutya patya Dhuthama Mahahara ranaramagagamaka rajeka ta Vihari rajima* (ruchima) *vivasat Samaka rajaka Sinhala daya: Haha vatsa visa.*

Translated is,

Glory to unborn sempiternal nature (*prakriti*) and the Triad! This cave of the saint Sakya is for the accomodation, in the wild, of those practising asceticism, and for foreign pilgrims from all parts of the world. This Vihar of the radiant sun for the very prosperous emancipated lord, is the gift of Dhuthama Maha Hara (*Dutthagamani*), ruling lord of Anaramagama, (*Anarajapura*) Supreme King of Sinhala (*Ceylon.*) ah! ah! the twentieth year.

Inscribed evidence is thus at length elicited, calculated to explain the dispersion of Buddhist Missionaries from the capital of their supreme Pontiff, in Ceylon, into foreign countries for the purpose of propagating the faith, as detailed in the chapters of the Mahawanso. Mr. Turnour's excellent translation of this work, which affords so much useful chronological information relative to ancient India, particularizes deputations to the Mahasamandala, Wanawasa, (*Banawasi,*) and Aparataka (*western*) countries, including Maharatta; the ancient history of which last is intimately connected with these stupendous excavations existing on this side of India, and perpetuating the memory of the Buddistical creed, flourishing here under the spiritual and temporal control of the supreme Raja of Ceylon; called by Palladius of Galata, in A. D. 392, greatest of the Kings of India, in obedience to whom all other are but as Satraps. This union of spiritual and temporal authority is manifest from the title of *Samaka Rajaka* in the inscription, which, as Mr. Colebrooke observes, was assumed by those kings, who after the manner of the gods received the *Abishek*, or ceremonial of anointing, they being consecrated to *Samrajya*, or equitable rule.* The person holding this important office, at the period when the Karli caves appear to have been excavated, was Dutthagamini, here called Dhuthama Hara, whose capital was *Anaramagama* the *Anurogrammam* of Ptolemy's Geography, the same as the ancient city of Anarajapura, of which Captain Chapman gives an account in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society.† Dutthagamini, son of Kakawanna, ascended the throne B. C. 165, and reigned, according to the Mahawanso, twenty four years. This inscription is dated in his twentieth year; and if, as I think, the prior one ascribing the construction of the cave to Vijaya be apocryphal, the origin of Karli cannot be dated earlier than B. C. 145.

Inscription 24, III of Plate LI, from Nasik, was decyphered by Dr. Stevenson, who kindly furnished me with the following reading, which alters the Prakrit words to their synonymes in Sanskrit.

Siddham! Rajna Kshaparatasya Kashatrapasya nripapanasya jamatra dinak putrena ushavadateneti goshatshahasra danam nadya Banasaya sovarna danam tirthakarena devatabhya Bramanebhyashcha shatsatru mure na anuesham brahmana shatsahasraita japa yatra Prabhase punya-tirtha Brahm netya ashtha Gayapure na gire Krichre Dashapure Goverdhane sheshatangecha chatushala vasandha Pratisraya pure na aromatate grihe Depankarena eva parada ramana Tapikaram vainada hanuka nava punya tarakarena vrita sachanodinam oddhri a tiram sama prapa karena pidita kavate Goverdhane sovarna mrigesha parigecha Ramatirthacha ranka pashubhya grame nana goletma ti shat nadim gairamula sahasram sudena Goverdhaneti rashmesho parvatesho dharmatmana idam lenam karitam imacha parthevyai Bhatarka ayarti-

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. VIII p. 397.

† Vol III, p. 463.

yoch gata simam varshao ratam malayai Vaishake hiradham utama Bhadram manchayitam techa malaya pranadenaiva apayeta utama bhadrakanam rucha kshatayanam sarve pare graha karanta gatasmin gata panksharana tragre chamum ya ati sitka krato tinacha go sahasrena dite nigrama.

Of which the translation is,

To the perfect Being. May this prove auspicious. By the son of King Kshapáráta,* ruler of the Kshatrya tribe and protector of men, the lord Dinika, † resplendent as the morn, (*was bestowed*) ‡ a gift of a hundred thousand cows along with the river Bánásá § and also a gift of gold even by him the constructor of this holy place for the gods, and for the Brahmans to mortify the passions There is not so desirable a place even at Prabhasa, where hundreds of thousands of Brahmans go on pilgrimage to repeat sacred verses, nor at the pure city of Gaya where Brahmans go, nor at the steep hill at Dusapura, nor the serpent's field at Govardhana, nor at the city of Pratisraya, where there is a Buddhistical monastery, nor even at the edifice built by Depanakara on the shore of the fresh water sea. This is a place which confers incomparable benefits, wholly pleasing, well fitted for the spotted deer skin of the ascetic. A safe boat has been provided by him, the maker also of a free ferry, which daily plies to the well supported bank. By him also, the constructor of a house for travellers and a public reservoir of water, a gilded lion (*deer ?*) has been set up at the crowded gate of this Govardhana, ‖ another also at the ferry, and another at Ramatirtha.¶ For lean cattle, within the bounds of the village, there are various kinds of food, for such cattle more than a hundred kinds of grass, and a thousand mountain roots given by this bounteous donor. In this very Govardhana, in the radiant mountains, this excavation was ordered to be made by the same charitable person. And these venerated by men, namely the *Sun*, *Sukra*, and *Rahu*, ** were in their exaltation in that year when the gift was bestowed. *Lakshmi*, *Indra* and *Yama* also consecrated it (in Vaishakha,) and the couch was set up on the most fortunate day of the month Bhadrapat. †† Thereafter these *Lakshmi*, *Indra* and *Yama* departed with a shout of triumph, for their excellent easy car, sustained by the force of incantatory verses, on the unbroken road. When all their retinue had departed and was gone, there fell a shower of water before the army, which being purified and having departed, and having passed over with the thousand cows, approaches the village.

Dr. Stevenson's reading and translation of the above inscription, except in reference to a few doubtful letters of the original, seems unobjectionable; but to his opinion that the inscription in reality contains an astronomical date, which would make the construction of the Nasik caves much anterior to the commencement of the Christian era, (B. C. 453,) I cannot so readily give my assent; more particularly as the Hindu deities, *Lakshmi*, *Indra*, and *Yama* are mentioned, and are associated with the existence of a *lingam* in these caves, indicating that here Buddhism had, at the period of their construction, been assimilated with the mysterious rites of the *Saiva Margis*, and with those principles of Brahmanical belief, which gave rise to the doctrines and practices of the Jainas. One is constantly reminded here of the poem of the *Ramayana*, particularly as the name of this place Nasik (*nose*) originated from Lakshman, the brother of Rama, having cut off the nose of the female Raksha *Surpnakha*, the sister of Ravan. The modern temple of Rama, in this vicinity, is said to have been erected on the site of a more ancient one, which was probably the *Ramatirtha* spoken of in the inscription; and as other places of public resort and pilgrimage, or *Tirthas*, such as *Gaya* on the Ganges, and *Prabhasa* or Somnath, the well known temple destroyed by Mahmud of Ghazni, are also alluded to, we must, I think, notwithstanding the rudeness and deficiency of ornament in the Nasik caves, assign them to the *Tirthakas* or *Jainas*, who are emanations from the Buddhist stem. Nasik, however, being mentioned in the Geography of Ptolemy, cannot be later than the beginning of the second century of our era, though it may be possible that the caves here are posterior to this time, since both the Brahmanical ritual of the Vedas, and many of the Hindu legends embodied in the poems of the *Ramayana* and *Mahabaharat*, were anterior to the Jaina modification of Buddhism and its general reception by the natives of India. The mention of the river Banás, in Marwar, is an additional reason for supposing that these caves are comparatively modern, and not anterior to the third or fourth century of our era; since in the Uttara Khanda of the Brahman Puráná, the Mahatmya, or local legend, celebrates the sanctity of the Baleja river, which is identical with the Banás.‡‡

* i. e. Giver of night.

† i. e. Belonging to day.

‡ These words are brought up from near the end of this part of the inscription.

§ An arrow from a bow.

‖ As Govardhana was raised by Krishna, to form a shelter for the cow-herds, so by these excavations this hill has become a Govardhana; such seems to be the grounds of the application of this name in the latter part of the inscription.

¶ There is a place so named at Nasik.

** Explanation afterwards regarding this date.

†† There is such a couch in the cave I am told. There is a play of words on the form of the constellation Bhadra, which is like a couch, and supposing the same play between the constellations Radha and the month Vaisakha, I have supplied the broken part.

‡‡ See Preface to Wilson's Vishnu Purana, p. XVII.

CHAPTER IV.

SYMBOLICAL MARKS, PRECEDING THE CAVE INSCRIPTIONS, ANALOGOUS TO THOSE ON THE COINS FOUND WEST OF THE INDUS AND IN THE PUNJAB; AND THE SIMILARITY OF THE *Thupas*, OR BUDDHIST MAUSOLEA OF THESE COUNTRIES, TO THOSE IN THE VICINITY OF THE WESTERN CAVES.

Analogy of symbols, preceding the Cave inscriptions, to those on the Indo-Scythian Coins, accounted for.

It has been already noticed that Mr. Colebrooke was of opinion * that the *Brahmans* of ancient times worshipped the sun and other celestial bodies, and were thus distinguished from the *Samanas* or *Sramanas*, (Bauddhas); but there is abundant proof in the translation of the Cave Inscriptions, given in the preceding chapter, that the Bauddha sectaries, who constructed the caves of western India, continued to address their invocations to the Sun, Mitra, Varuna, and spirits of the air, even after the origin of those philosophical principles on which were based their faith and ritual. The *Attha Katha* of Ceylon, in narrating the history of the third Bauddha convocation, which took place in the time of Asoka, (B. C. 242), has indeed told us that both the adoration of the Sun and of Fire were heretical, and inconsistent with the religion of Buddha Sakya; but the Bauddhas of Nepal continue to perform the Vedic ceremony of the Hom, or the worship of fire; those of Siam adore the sun under the designation of *Pra-Athit*, and do homage to the *Phra-Patha* or solar foot of Buddha; while the astrological superstition of the Tartar tribes, manifest in their profession of that gross form of Shakya's doctrine called Shamanism, indicates its admixture with the Sabean and Magian faiths; of which there is undoubted evidence in the emblems met with on the Indo-Scythian coins of Kadphises and Kanerki. These symbols have been well arranged in a plate by Col: Sykes,† who assigns them a purely Buddhist origin, though I am induced to refer them rather to solar and elemental worship, out of which arose Buddhism, and with which it seems to have been intimately associated on its first propagation as a creed. The Buddhist image discovered at *Kabul*, and depicted in the supplementary plate with the flame ascending from the shoulder, similar to that represented rising from the pillars of the composite Dehgop at Ajanta, plate VI, plainly demonstrates this union of the Bauddha and Mithraic creeds; to which probably may be traced that strange connexion between the circumstances and dates of the Zerdashts of Persia and the Buddhas of India, remarked by professor Wilson in his Essay on the History of Kashmir. We are informed by Mr. Hodgson that the Chaitya of *Swayambhu-nath*, or the self existent, is affirmed by the Nepalese to cover the *Jyoti-rupya*, having possession of its centre in the form of flame.‡ For this reason the theistical system of Buddhism, which admits of five *Dhyani Buddhas*, and represents four of them on the sides of the Dehgopas, supposes that *Vairochana*,§ or *light*, occupies the centre; and this intellectual emblem of supreme essence at once explains to us why, in inscription XIV, plate XLIV, to which the *Swastic* 卐 or mystic cross is terminal, Buddha is called the *excellent one of the sun, the heavenly Gautama*. This emblem was adopted as the religious type of the *Tao sse*, or rationalists of China, who were, as appears, followers of the *Yin* and *Yan*, the *satya* and *rajasa* of the Hindus, similar in all respects to the qualities of good and evil acknowledged by the fire-worshippers, and named *Ormazd* and *Ahriman*. Zoroaster and his followers placed the supreme good in the sun, which they called *Mithra*, signifying in Sanskrit both the *sun* and *friendship*, and supposed to perform the office of mediator, as asserted by Plutarch, between every thing in this world found in a state of enmity and opposition, such as light and darkness, day and night.‖ No6 Inscription,¶ over the Dehgop at Karli, acknowledges the sun to be the abode of the triune Being of creation; who in the opinion of the Gnostics was the principle of primitive love, the source of light and life. The early Bauddha coins Nos. 6 and 8 of the supplementary plate, collected by Mr. Tregear of Juanpur, and arranged by Prinsep under the head of Indo-Sassanian coins, ** have on the obverse a *bull*, or a *cock* and *tree*, with legends on the reverse, *Satya mitasa, vijaya mitasa*, epithets signifying "of the true and victorious sun, or principle of friendship;" otherwise denominated, on coin No. 17, †† *Bhagavata Kama*, "the deified Kama," or the Hindu Cupid, an object of general adoration amongst the Hindus of former times.

* See note at p. 23. † Journal of the R. As Soc. Vol vi. p 454. ‡ Hodgson's Sanskrit Authorities on Buddhism in the Journal of the Bengal As. Soc. Vol. v. p. 86. § See pages 24 and 42. ‖ See page 41 of this work; and Histoire critique du Manicheisme, par M. de Beausobre, Tom I. p. 563. ¶ See its translation p. 54. ** Journal Bengal As Soc. Vol. vi. p. 298. †† See Supplementary plate.

The connexion and union of Bauddha religious principles with those of the *Sabeans* and followers of *Mithra*, would therefore appear to have arisen from a communion of ideas that *Kradeva* or *Kraka*, the sun or holy fire, was, in his igneous essence, identical with the deity of creation, or Vulcan, the *Hæphaistos* of the Greeks, the *Opifex Mundi*, or mundane artisan, and the same as the *Viswa Karma* of the Hindus. According to the Saiva faith of the latter, the *Mithra* of the fire worshippers, is the *Unadi* or *Agnilinga*, the pillar of radiance of the *Linga Purana*, from which the deity first manifested himself for the creation of the world. This symbol [symbol] which precedes No. 4 inscription from Junir, is of constant occurrence on the gold coinage of Kadphises, and on the Indo-Scythic, or Indo-Mithraic series of coins from Kabul and the Punjab. In combination with the emblem [symbol] it is found on coin 13 of the supplementary plate belonging to the coinage of Kadphises. The King on the obverse is represented seated on a war chariot, similar to the chariot of the sun, while on the reverse the legend in Bactrian Pali, as made out from a collation of three coins, reads,

Maharajasa raja dhi rajanam sidata mitra rata dhimukta satha nanada.

And translated is,

Of the great king, supreme king of kings, the establisher, the saint of Mithra, the supreme emancipated Satha, (Buddha), the glorified.

Other coins of this series, show that Kadphises belonged to the people called Dards, who occupied the country from Kaferistan to Chitral or Little Tibet. The Greek legend on the obverse of some specimens styles him Zathos Kadaphes Khoranos, and gives him the Bauddha title ZAΘOY, the same as the Pali "Satha," meaning the venerated. All the coins belonging to this dynasty evidence the union of solar worship with the Bauddha faith. The King in a Tartar dress is frequently represented making offerings on what appears to be a low fire-altar, and sometimes holding a branch to his nose, the idolatry of sun-worship, denounced by the prophet Ezekiel in these words, "they worshipped the sun toward the east, and, lo! they put the branch to their nose."*

Similarity of the Thupas of the Punjab to the tumuli found near the Caves.

The vast number of Sassanian coins, and of those belonging to worshippers of the sun and fire, met with in the Topes of Afghanistan and the Punjab, afford additional evidence of the union between the Bauddha and Magian faiths. A Sthupa in Sanskrit signifies a mound or tumulus, and this word in Pali corrupted into *Thupa* or Tope, is made applicable to monumental receptacles for the bones of a Buddha or Rahat. A Tope, is generally a circular building of stone or brick, erected either on a natural or artificial elevation; and is distinguished by a distinct cylindrical body, interposed, as in the *Dehgops*,† between a circular basement and a hemispherical cupola.‡ The relics deposited in these structures are generally discovered in a small recess, and are enclosed in vases of copper or brass, which contain smaller cases of gold or silver, sometimes distinct and sometimes enclosed one within the other. Gold ornaments and rings, pieces of glass and crystal, bits of bone, and teeth of animals, with occasionally pieces of cloth, have been found within the gold and silver caskets; but in the larger vases, pearls, beads, seals, and gems, mixed with pulverized ashes, have been usually met with. Sometimes the stone slab, which covers the recess in the centre, is inscribed with Bactrian Pali characters, and sometimes on the lid of the brass or copper casket there is a punched or dotted inscription. Outside of these vases, coins of Hermæus having a standing figure of Hercules on the reverse; coins of Kadphises and Kanerkes, inscribed with rude Greek letters; and coins of the Sassanian Kings of Persia, and their cotemporaries the Roman Emperors, are obtained from these monuments. The gold cup, found by Mr. Masson at Bimaran, is divided into eight compartments enshrining four figures, delineated in duplicate, of which one is Gautama in the act of preaching, a mendicant on his right hand, a lay follower on his left, and a female disciple behind the latter.§ On the vase of steatite, which encased this golden cup, there is an inscription,‖ not decyphered by Professor Wilson, but which reads,

Kafo ratasa dhirata siddhata mira.¶ *shila mitra-put dhirajasa siddhata sudha shila varaha putasa dhipalati tisa dinak phratesa rata-ratisa bhutasa pupasa.*

And may be translated,

Of the saint of *Kafo*, the supreme venerated establisher of meditation on the sun, the purified of Mitra, the supreme king, establisher of holy meditation on Vishnu, the purified Phra-ates, of him a supreme ruler like the sun, the most venerated of the Ratas, the divine being.

* Chap. VIII. verses 16 and 17. See also Job xxxi, 26 and 27.

† See plates V and VI.

‡ Prof. Wilson's description of those in Afghanistan, in his Ariana Antiqua p. 38.

§ Wilson's Ariana Antiqua p. 41.

‖ Plate II of the Ariana Antiqua. The difficulty of printing in Arianian characters in Bombay prevents me here giving the original.

¶ In this inscription *mira* is read for *mahira* (the sun), and *pupasa* translated as the Pali word *papatika*, signifying, "of divine origin."

The country of Kafo or Kaofu, mentioned in the Chinese accounts of the Indo-Scythians, has been supposed to be identical with Kabul, and, according to Professor Lassen, to have been conquered by the Yeuchi, (Indo-Scythians or White Huns,) in the middle of the century B. C. This learned illustrator of Bactrian antiquity considers that the King of the Yeuchi named Kiutsui-Kio, and his son Yenkao-ching, prosecuting their career of victory, reduced the valley of the Indus, and founded the Kadphises dynasty; but though the time and circumstances of these conquests, as well as the assumption by these Kings of the Bauddha title ZAOOY, would justify us in assigning to this race, the construction of the Tope at Bimaran, and others in the same neighbourhood, we may, with greater probability of accuracy, ascribe the former to a King, belonging to the family of the Eastern Arsacidæ, here named Phra-ates. This King appears also to have borne the title of Gondophares, whose coins are distinguished by a peculiar monogram on the reverse, in which may be recognised a combination of Sanskrit letters expressive of the word *nama*, signifying, glory! and though his Greek appellation was Gondophares, his real name on the reverse of his coins is Phra-ates, the same probably as the King mentioned by Philostratus, as a Prince who reigned A. D. 46 at *Taxiles*, or the modern *Manikyala* in the Panjab. He was cotemporary with Bardanes the Parthian; was visited by Apollonius of Tyana, who conversed with him in the Greek language; and being, as would appear, of mixed or Indo-Parthian descent, was probably enshrined in the neighbourhood of Kabul, among the Indo-Scythians; an event of which the inscription just decyphered is a record as well as of the faith he professed, being a mixture of the Bauddha and Magian. Professor Wilson's opinion, that most of the Topes in this part of India were built between the beginning and sixth century of the Christian era, is well worthy of credit, and the oldest of the caves of Western India could not not have been excavated much earlier than two hundred years anterior to that time. The Topes are always accompanied, when erected in the hill country, by a series of caves and inferior structures, called tumuli; with which last the monumental receptacles, erected in front of the western caves, have a remarkable analogy.

The one at Kanari, which was opened by me in 1839, appeared to have been originally twelve or sixteen feet in height, and of a pyramidal shape; but being much dilapidated formed exteriorly a heap of stones and rubbish. The largest of several being selected for examination, was penetrated from above to the base, which was built of cut stone. After digging to a level with the ground and clearing away the loose materials, the workmen came to a circular stone, hollow in the centre, and covered at the top by a piece of gypsum. This contained two small copper urns, in one of which were a ruby, a pearl, and small piece of gold mixed with ashes. In this urn there was also a small gold box, containing a piece of cloth, and in the other, ashes and a silver box were found. Outside the circular stone, there were two copper plates, on which were legible inscriptions in the *Lath* or Cave character. The smaller of the plates had two lines of writing in a character similar to that met with at the entrance of the Ajanta Caves; the larger one was inscribed with letters of an earlier date. The last part of the first mentioned inscription contained the Buddhist creed, as found on the base of the Bauddha image from Tirhut, and on the stone taken from the Tope of *Sarnath* near Benares; an excellent commentary on which will be found in Mr. Prinsep's Journal for March and April, 1835. The original of the Kanari inscription reads,

Yé dharma hetu prabhava, tesham hetu Tathagata suvacha téshàncha yo nirodha evam vati Maha Suvana.

And may be translated,

Whatever meritorious acts proceed from cause, of these the source Tathagata (Buddha) has declared; the opposing principle of these the great one of golden origin, has also demonstrated.

The only difference between the text of the present inscription and the one from Tirhut, is the last word *suvana*, (the Pali for Suvarna,) instead of *Sramana*; and which signifies the golden one, or a person of exalted birth or descent, here evidently an appellative of Buddha: for in the appendix to Mr. B. H. Hodgson's quotation in proof of his sketch of Buddhism, one of the principal attributes of Adi Buddha is *Suvarnavarnata*. This discovery at Kanari of the Buddist *confessio fidei* establishes the Bauddha origin of the Cave temples of Western India. It also strengthens the theory regarding the origin of the *Dehgops* of Kanari, Manikyala, and Afghanistan, that they are Bauddha mausolea, built over the remains of persons of this faith, either of a royal or priestly character. There can be little doubt of the ashes found in the urns at Kanari, being those of persons buried; one of whom, according to the larger copper inscription, erected the *Chaitya* in honour of *Bhagavana Sakya Muni*, called here the son of *Sarad' dhati*, thus identifying him with *Vardhamana*, the last of the Jaina saints. The object of these monuments would thus appear to have been twofold; a memorial of the dead, and in honour of the deity, of which the enshrined saint was only a portion, and as legitimately entitled to adoration as the source from which he had emanated, and to which, according to their creed, he could, after a life of virtuous penance and abstract meditation, return. The monuments in Kabul and the Panjab are therefore, we conclude the consecrated

tombs of a race of princes, who professed the Buddhist faith. Their coins are engraved on one side with Greek letters, and on the other with those of Bactrian Pali. The tribe to which they belonged is called *Khoranon*, the same with the Græco-Scythic race, mentioned by Marco Polo under the name of Karaunas, a tribe of robbers who scoured the country, and plundered every thing within their reach.* This traveller informs us that the Jaghatai Tartars of *Nikodar Oghlan*, the son of *Hulaku*, intermarrying with dark Indian women, produced a race to which the appellation of *Karaunas* was given, signifying, in the language of the country, a mixed people; but the designation was in use long anterior to this time, as in Avdall's History of Armenia, the reigning families of the Parthians, in the beginning of the Christian era, are divided into the *Sureni Pehlavis* or Western, and the *Karani Pehlavis or* Eastern.

* Travels of Marco Polo, by Marsden, p. 86.

CHAPTER V.

The History of Buddhism.

The physceology and cenobite practices of Buddhism originated, as a sequence to the philosophy of the Vedas, and were opposed to their sacrificial ritual.

In conducting the investigation into Buddhism I have endeavoured, throughout the preceding chapters, to bring forward facts of the affiliation of this religion with other systems of ancient mythology; and I now proceed to deduce such conclusions as seem warranted by the doctrines and historical events both of Buddhism and Brahmanism. Some of the Cave inscriptions recording gifts and offerings made to the sun and other celestial bodies, deify the former under the name of *Kradeva* and *Mitra*, while in others are to be found traces of theological philosophy, and the exaltation of its teachers to rank with divinities, indicative of a deviation from the primitive system of the *Veda ritual*, and the introduction of *anthropomorphism*, by which the gods became assimilated with men, and men were raised to deities. But when primitive Buddhism originated from Hindu schools of philosophy, it differed as widely from that of later times, as did the Brahmanism of the *Vedas* from that of the *Puranas* and *Tantras*. The *Sanhita*, or collection of hymns of the Veda, invoking Mitra, Agni, Varuna, and Indra, presents a system of religion so entirely analogous to that of the Persians, in the time of Cyrus, that we can scarcely deem extravagant the assertion of Sir W. Jones, that " a powerful monarchy (*the Mahabadian*) was established in Persia, and that it was, in truth, a Hindu monarchy," when Sabæism and the adoration of the celestial host was the religion of both countries. We are told by Herodotus that, in his time, the Persians offered from the summits of the highest mountains, sacrifices to Jove (*Indra*), distinguishing by that appellation, the whole expanse of the firmament. They also adored the sun, the moon, earth, fire, water, and the winds, which were their original deities, and had among them neither temples nor altars; censuring the use of such as impious, and a gross violation of reason, because, in opposition to the Greeks, they did not believe that the gods partook of human nature.* In the 7th century B. C. the Hindu inhabitants of the Panjab rendered thanks, in the hymns of the Veda, to the celestial powers who had dispensed favours to them, and invoked the aid of Agni, Mitra, Varuna, and spirits of the air.† In the Lath edicts of the great Asoka, engraved on rocks from Kattak to Girnar, in Gujarat, and on the Radiah, Mathiah, Delhi, and Allahabad columns, the sacrifice of blood and the meat offering are interdicted, as contrary to the tenets of the converted sovereign's new creed, which inculcates mercy, charity, purity, and chastity, as forming the chief excellence of religion, in combination with the exercise of solitary austerities. The worship of the deities by sacrifice, gifts, and penance, along with a knowledge of the great universal spirit, acquired by abstract and secluded meditation, seem to have been inculcated in the original Hindu system. In the course of time, however, those who deemed sacrifice and works altogether unworthy of attention, deserted the world for ascetic contemplation; the foundation of the *Vinaya* or monastic discipline of Buddhism, which followed as a consequence those philosophical principles of theology, for the study and investigation of which, cenobitical seclusion was recommended and instituted. It may therefore, I think, be conceded that Brahmanism preceded Buddhism, and though progressive, both had their origin from a common source, and nearly about the same time, namely, towards the middle of the 6th century B. C; when the Brahmans of India investigated subjects of theological philosophy, and drew many of their opinions from the same fountain, perhaps, as Plato and Pythagoras; who were indebted to Chaldean and Egyptian sources for the doctrines which they taught. Previous to the Grecian invasion, the theology and metaphysical principles, on which Bauddha belief were founded, must have been prevalent, since we have the testimony of Megasthenes and Strabo that, at this period, the Gymnosophists, Sarmanes, or Germanes, and Alobi or Hylobii, and sects of the Digambara class, were already in existence. The error, therefore, of those who conclude, that the Bauddha system is of greater antiquity than the Brahmanical embodied in the Vedas, is also apparent from philological evidence, since the Magadha Prakrit, or the language of the Cave inscriptions, is a derivative of Sanskrit. Doubt may indeed be reasonably entertained whether the Brahmanical Buddha of the Puranas, considered by the Vaishnavas an incarnation of Vishnu, be the same as Gautama or Sakya Muni of the Buddhists: though there exists a consistency in the narrative of

* Beloe's Herodotus, Book I, clause 131. p. 84.

† Notice, of Dr. Roth's investigations of the Vedas, by the Rev. J. M. Mitchell, in the Journal of the Bombay As. Soc. Vol II p. 404.

this matter, that Vishnu became incarnate under the name of Buddha for the purpose of deluding those attached to the ritual of the Vedas; hence denominated the enemies of the gods. The legend related in various Puranas is, that Divodasa, a King of the solar race, having established at Kashi, or Benares, the religion of the Vedas, rendered his people so virtuous and happy, that Indra and the gods became alarmed lest they should lose their supremacy, and the heretical doctrines therefore, which Buddha taught, were mischievous delusions, necessary to render the king and his subjects apostates from the system of the Vedas. Buddhism was thus an appeal to popular feeling in opposition to the claims of an hereditary hierarchy, by admitting all classes to the priesthood, denouncing as sinful the sacrificial ritual of the Vedas, and proclaiming the divine attribute of Dharma *(virtue)*, the basis of the new creed, and the only means of obtaining salvation. It is difficult if not impossible to determine whether any of those Buddhistical principles were derived from the philosophy of Pythagoras and Plato, or whether the Greeks, in their turn, were indebted for them to the Indians. The rebuke, however, said to have been addressed to the Parthian King Bardanes, by the Pythagorean, Apollonius of Tyana, contains sentiments so much in unison with those of the Buddhists, that I am tempted to narrate the interview as given in the life of the philosopher by Philostratus. Apollonius and his companion Damis, on their arrival at Babylon, were commanded by the officer on guard at the gates to adore the King's golden image; but the former refusing, was summoned to the royal presence. The King, when Apollonius appeared before him, saluted him in the Greek language, ordering him to sacrifice with him to the gods, as he was about to offer a choice *Nisæan* horse to the sun. "Apollonius answered, do you, O King! sacrifice after your manner, and give me leave to sacrifice after mine." Thus speaking he took frankincense, and said, *O Sun! conduct me so far as it seemeth good to me and thee; and let me know virtuous men, but as for the wicked, let me neither know them, nor they me.* He then threw the frankincense into the fire, beholding how the smoke ascended, what turnings it made, how many heads it lifted up, till observing that the fire was of good omen, he again said to the King, "do you now sacrifice according to the custom of your country, for I have observed the fashion that we have; thereupon he withdrew himself from the sacrifice, that he might have nothing to do with blood." Returning to the King at the end of the sacrifice, he explained to him that he was devoted to the wisdom of Pythagoras, who had taught him to worship the gods in this manner, to clothe himself in linen, the pure gift of water and earth, and to abstain from eating any living creature." * Though the Parthian Kings, in conformity with Bauddha practice, claimed for themselves at this time divine honours, they were, as would appear, still followers of *Mithra*; since Dion Cassius relates that when Tiridates, the brother of Arsaces Vologeses I, visited Rome to receive his crown, he prostrated himself before Nero, and addressed the Emperor saying, "I am come hither to adore you, and to pay you the same veneration which I render to the god Mithra."† The apostles of Buddhism, like the disciples of Pythagoras, travelled about to diffuse their tenets, teaching like them that virtue and mercy were the foundation of all true religion, and that the punishment of sin was the transmigration of souls from one body to another. Their practical discipline, if not their philosophical principles, appears to have had many points in common with that followed by the Essenes among the Jews, who, according‡ to Philo, resembled the Therapeutæ, and built like them monasteries and *Semneia* σεμνα (by which he probably means pyramidal altars covering relics), as was the practice of the Indian Gymnosophists, called Σεμνοι by Clemens of Alexandria.§ The philosophical sects therefore, known at the commencement of our era, had so much common to their belief, that we can neither wonder or doubt but that with the irruption of the *Sakas*, principles of foreign faiths should have been brought into India, and mingled with Bauddha belief.

Accounts of the Brachmanes and Samanæi, or the Brahmans and Bauddhas, as related by classical writers.

From the time of Strabo, (B. C. 25) to that of Porphyrius, (A. D. 303), there is a want of precision in the classical histories, narrating the differences of principle and practice which distinguished the two leading Indian sects of Brahmans and Samanians. This has induced men of acknowledged learning and discrimination to maintain an opinion that the former were originally a purely secular class, and that the Gymnosophists, or Sophists, belonged exclusively to the Samanians or Bauddhas, forming the only sacerdotal order then known. An attentive consideration of all the passages of the original authorities,‖ has led me to conclude that this idea is erroneous, and that, in the age of Alexander the Great, Brahmanical pretension to hereditary sacerdotal succession and superiority of caste, formed as much a part of the Indian religious system as they do at present. As followers of the Veda, the Brahmans composed a then exclusive body, of whom some were householders, pursuing secular employments, and discharging the duties of their station

* Philostratus de Vita Apollon. lib. 9 c. 33, 34, &c. as quoted in Lewis's, Parthian Empire, p. 237.

† Dion Cassius lib. 63. abridged by Xiphilin, in Nerone.

‡ Philo apud Photii Bibliothec p. 275.

§ See note at p. 35 of this work.

‖ In the work entitled Palladius de Gentibus et Bragmenibus.

as described in the Vishnu Purana; * others, having arrived at the decline of life, consigned their wives to the care of their sons and abandoned the world for the wild, as *Vanaprasthas*, or hermits, to conquer all their imperfections and secure for themselves the mansions of eternity. In this state they subsisted on leaves, roots, and fruit; were endurant of heat and cold; begged for alms, and presented food to all creatures; slept on the ground, and offered oblations to the gods and to fire. The first class of the Indians called, by Arrian, Sophists or learned men, though inferior in numbers, were held in greatest estimation; laboured not for the public support, but sacrificed to the gods for the common welfare; were skilled in divination, and foretold the changes and events of the year; basked in the sun or reposed in shady places; and lived on the fruit and the bark of trees. The habits here described, so closely resemble those of the *Vanaprasthas* of the Vishnu Purana, as to carry conviction that the sectaries were Brahmanical anchorites, and not exclusively those of a like class among the Bauddhas or Samanians. Strabo divides the religious orders into Brachmanes and Germanes, meaning by the latter the *Sramanes* or Samanians. He has entered into minute details regarding the former, and particularly describes their *Agrahars*, or collegiate establishments, which are said to have been situated midst groves in front of the city, and within an enclosure of moderate extent; where these philosophers lived abstemiously, lay on skins and benches, abstained from connexion with women, and from using as food every thing that had life, being intent on serious discourses, and ready to communicate with those willing to listen. The *Brahmans* were, he says, esteemed more excellent than the *Germanes*, because their doctrines were more reasonable; and Nearchus, whose authority he quotes, describes the former, as living in cities, being the followers and counsellors of Kings, though some of them turned to the contemplation of those things which belong to nature. Among the *Germanes*, by whom doubtless are meant the *Bauddhas*, those were most honoured who are called *Hylobii*, because they dwelt in the woods, living on leaves and wild fruits, clad from the bark of trees, and abstaining from wine and all intercourse with women.

In the end of the second century Philostratus quoting Damis, the companion of Apollonius of Tyana, says that the Brahmans slept on the ground and made their beds of grass, wore long hair with a white mitre on their heads, went barefoot, were clothed in linen vestments of an Exomidum † form, and carried a staff and ring with which occult properties were associated. These Brahmans, whom Damis must have seen at Taxiles in the Punjab, worshipped and sacrificed to the sun, obtained their fire from it as do the Hindus for the *Hom*, and were, most probably, subjects of the very King Phra-ates, whose monumental inscription, translated in the preceding chapter, supplies evidence that, while he continued a follower of the Vedic ritual and of Vishnu, he had in part adopted Bauddha belief, that by *Shila*, or austere meditation, he had himself become part of the deity, or the great universal cause of nature and its manifestations.

Somewhat later Porphyrius, on the authority of Bardesanes a Babylonian, tells us that in various parts of India there were certain wise men whom the Greeks were wont to call Gymnosophists. Of these there were two sects, one the *Brachmanes*, the other the *Samanæi*. The former of these admitted the priesthood and divine wisdom to be the hereditary right of birth. The Samanians consisted of those who were selected and willing to devote themselves to divine wisdom, being collected from all the Indian tribes, while the Brahmans were all of one family, claiming descent from one father and one mother. The Brahmans lived not under the authority of Kings, nor held any office under others, but such of them as were philosophers dwelt some on a mountain, and some near the Ganges; where they subsisted on wild fruits and coagulated milk. Those who were near the river appear to have used the nut of the lotus, and occasionally rice when this failed. They esteemed it unclean and impious to eat of anything which had life, and religiously and strictly devoted themselves to the worship of God, by offering up prayers and hymns to the gods day and night. Each of them lived in their own proper hut, and as much apart as possible, but when by chance it happened that they came in contact with others, their seclusion then became the more strict, so that they were silent for several days, and fasted frequently: all of which peculiarities show the arrogance of Brahmanical pretension and claims to superiority, which this hereditary priesthood assumed over all other classes. Porphyrius, in his description of such of them as were located in the vicinity of the Ganges, appears to have had specially in view the *Vanaprasthas*, and makes no allusion to those who were secularly employed in cities as the counsellors of Kings.

The Samanæans on the other hand were elected from the people at large. When any one was ordained to a college, he went before the chiefs of the village, and here abandoning his property and employment, accepted a *stole* after the tonsure of his body; and relinquishing both wives and children to the care of the King, was entered among the Samanæans. These lived outside the city, where they had habitations and a temple constructed for them by the King, and spent the whole day in holy conversation; some one from among them being appointed overseer to receive a certain royal allowance for their ne-

* Wilson's translation of the Vishnu Purana p. 294.

† A Tunic without sleeves.

cessary maintenance. They lived on rice, bread, fruits, and pot-herbs. On entering their domiciles they poured forth prayers at the sound of a bell; these finished, each had a platter of food brought to them of which they partook at a signal again given, as no two could eat from the same dish. Both Brahmans and Samanæans were regarded with such veneration by all others, as to be sometimes visited by the King, who supplicated their prayers for the welfare of his kingdom, and consulted them in whatever he was about to do.

Gautama, or Sakya Muni, B. C. 588, attained Buddhahood, and proclaimed the tenets of the new faith at Rajagriha, in Bahar.

It is thus apparent, from internal and external evidence, that Buddhism was altogether the antithesis of Brahmanism, which appealed to the common sense and interest of the mass, against the hereditary pretension and arrogance of the few. It denounced the Vedas and the sacrifice of animal life, inscribing in *Prakrit*, on temples and places of public resort, its charities and offerings. The Bauddhas themselves have therefore never questioned the superior antiquity of Brahmanism;* their annals indeed admitting that when *Kasyapa*, the predecessor of *Sakya*, was proclaiming the principles of the faith, the latter, at that period, "was one *Jotipal*, excelling in the mantra, and perfect master of the three *wédá*, which he used to rehearse by note. He had also achieved the knowledge of signs, of the *itihaso* (legends,) and of divination." †

Sakya, according to both Brahmans and Buddhists, was a *Ksahatrya* born, the son of Suddhodana, King of *Kapilawattha;* who held his kingdom in dependence on the then supreme monarch of India, called Vimbasara, ruling at *Rajagriha* in Bahar, the capital at that time of the Magadha empire. The legends of the Puranas, relative to Buddha, make him an incarnation or manifestation of Vishnu, which appeared in Kikata, (Bahar), for the purpose of deluding those who, faithful to the religion prescribed by the Vedas, had become so virtuous and happy, as to alarm the gods for their supremacy, and were hence considered their enemies. A close connection, as we have shown, existed in various points between the religious principles of the Persian worshippers of the sun and fire, and those of the Bauddhas; and it seems not impossible that some of the first principles of Buddhism are not indigenous to India, but may have been brought by the Scythic tribes into the country, during the first emigrations of the *Magas* from the westward. They, in giving name to the province of *Magadha*, introduced also the elements of this new religion from *Saka-dwipa*, their original country. There is yet further persumptive evidence, of this *Extra-Indian* origin of some first principles of primitive Buddhism, in the manifestly intimate connexion found subsisting between the idol statues of the caves at Balkh Bamian, and the Indo-Mithraic coins discovered in the *Thupas* of Afghanistan and the Panjab. In a paper on Bactrian and Mithraic coins, published in the Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal for 1843, I had occasion to point out that the *Nanaia* of the Mithraic coins, whose statues were originally set up among the Bactrians and Persians, B. C. 357, by Darius, the grandson of Ochus, was equivalent to *Dharma* among the Bauddhas, the type of inert matter from which various forms are evolved; being similar to *Prajna*, or deified nature of these Sectaries, under more theistical ideas of the existence of *deity*, viewed in relation to the natural fecundity of the earth and the passive influence of the sun. In these two several relations, *Nanaia*, or the *Prajna* of the Bauddhas, had both a *physical* and an *astral* character; under which latter, associated with that of the *Sun*, she appears represented by the female statue at the caves of Bamian, and on the coin of *Kanerkes*, which gave rise to the comments then made. Traces of *anthropomorphism*, similar also to what we find among the Bauddhas, are met with, in Scythia, so early as the age of Herodotus, who informs us that the Scythians, near Tyras, on the Dneister,‡ reverenced an impression of the feet of Hercules. If however, the primary elements of Buddhism were introduced into Magadha, by the *Sacæ*, they were certainly improved and extended by the philosophy of India, of which *Kapila* was the author, if *Gautama*, the nominal founder of this faith be not identical with this sceptical expositor of the philosophy of the Vedas.§ The cave inscriptions, of western India, acknowlege him and his commentator *Devala* as intimately associated with the Bauddha religion, if not teachers of its tenets; and it seems a singular admission, on the part of the Buddhistical annals, that the *tapaso*, (ascetic) named *Kala-Dewalo*, the confidant of Sakya's father *Suddhodana*, should have been called at the birth of Sakya, in order that the infant might do him homage. The Buddha elect, however, when brought into the presence of the ascetic, planted his feet on the *jata*, or top-

* See page 38 of this work.

† Pali Buddhistical Annals, No. 3, translated by Turnour, in the Journal, of the Bengal As. Soc., Vol VII. p. 796.

‡ Herodotus, Book IV, para. LXXXII.

§ *The Tika*, or Commentary on the Ceylon Pitakattaya and Atthakatha, quoted by Mr. Turnour, in his Introduction to the Mahawanso, asserts this identity, and that the Brahmin Kapilo was Sakya Muni, before assuming, in the Himalaya country, the sacerdotal character of the "Isi." Introduction, p. XXXVI.

knot of *Dewalo*; who, thus perceiving that Sakya had obtained the last stage of existence, bowed down to him, with clasped hands raised over his head, in token of submission.* The Sakya tribes too are said to have hymned forth the canticles of triumph and gratulation, peculiar to the Brahmanical observances then prevalent.

The new faith, after the third convocation of its disciples, and during the reign of the Emperor Asoka, B. C. 242, attained its greatest ascendancy and spread into various countries, on the N. and S. of India.

The new creed soon became the dominant religion of North India; but with its ascendancy, that struggle with Brahmanism commenced, which after several centuries of fluctuating fortune, inclining sometimes to one and sometimes to the other of the contending parties, terminated in the final expulsion from India of the Bauddha sectaries; who, during the reign of Asoka, and after the third convocation of Sakya's disciples, attained their utmost supremacy. The era of Sakya Muni's obtaining *Nirvan*, or emancipation, is a subject both of uncertainty and dispute; this being placed, by Thibet authorities, in the eighteenth year of Ajata Satru, and by the Ceylon annals in the eighth year of this monarch, corresponding with the year B. C. already given. Such discrepancies are however not unfrequent in the best European chronologies, and can scarcely be matter for wonder in the history of so obscure a subject as that of the rise and progress of Buddhism; the era of which varies according to the supposed date of Alexander the Great's cotemporary, Chandra Gupta, whose reign is made the key stone of the whole chronological system.

At the period when Sakya commenced to preach his doctrines, *Rajagriha*, now *Rajgir*, was the capital of South Bahar and the celebrated metropolis of "Madya desa," or middle India, comprising the country and petty principalities, between the Himalaya and the river Nermada. It is now reduced to a village of about nine hundred houses, and lies about S. S. W. fourteen miles of the present town of Bahar, and on the north side of a range of hills, enumerated, in the Buddhistical annals, as five mountains, which are particularly named; and in which the *Sattapanni* cave, where the first convocation was held, is said to be situated. The modern town is described as rising on an open plain, surrounded by hills, about one and half or two miles in diameter; where, in several places, the remains of the old city of *Jarasandha* is pointed out, and where is a cave, in one of the hills, similar to those which exist near Gaya.† Here Sakya's doctrines were first reduced to writing, and here the second Buddhist patriarch Ananda was born. Several Brahmin families yet perform the worship of the Jain temples, which are numerous on the tops of the neighbouring hills. It was long the capital of the Indian empire until Asoka, on becoming sole sovereign of India, and a convert from the Brahmanical to the Buddhist faith, removed the Court to *Palibothra*, which is generally identified with Patna.

From Rajagriha the founder of Buddhism made several journies into the neighbouring region to preach and propagate his doctrines; and having devoted himself to six years of austere meditation and retirement at Gaya, on the north of this ancient capital, this place has since been a celebrated resort of pilgrimage for sectaries of this faith, who flocked to it from China, Ceylon, and Barmah. In Gaya the Brahmins have changed Bauddha images into Brahmanical types of the Saiva worship, though a Buddhist temple of great dimensions be found here in ruins, and an inscription in one of the caves records the name of *Dasaratha*, the grandson of Asoka, who, immediately on ascending the throne caused the hermitage to be established for devoted Buddhist ascetics.‡ According to Sir W. Jone's Hindu Chronology,§ this prince was the fifth of the ten *Mauryas*; who, from the usual calculation of this series of Kings, given in the Puranas, reigned a hundred and thirty seven years, reckoning from the expiation of Chanakya and the commencement of the reign of Chandra Gupta, the cotemporary of Alexander the Great. If this *Dasaratha* was, as seems probable, the son of *Suyasas*, and grandson of Asoka, the earliest of the Bauddha caves, at Gaya, cannot claim a higher antiquity than B. C. 202; a date which furnishes a clue to the actual age of most other excavations in India, though that of some, like the one at Karli, is definitely known by the name of the King and year of his reign being mentioned.

The time of the Emperor Asoka's conversion to Buddhism, by his nephew Nigrodho, is a cardinal point of Bauddha chronology, and is generally ascribed to the fourth year after his accession to the throne; when, having been seized with religious remorse for the murder of his brothers, he erected *Viharas*, and asylums for medical administration throughout his dominions, inculcating, by edicts published at this time, humanity to every living creature. Both Brahmans and Buddhists claim him to be a follower of their respective faiths; though the latter admit that for three years, previous to his inauguration, he lived out of the pale

* Turnour's Buddhistical Annals, No. 3 in the Journal of the Bengal As. Soc. Vol. VII. p. 802.

† See Prinsep's Journal, Vol. II p. 336, and Turnour's Buddhistical Annals VII of the same work, p. 927.

‡ Prinsep's Fac similes of ancient inscriptions from Gaya, in his Journal for 1837 p. 678.

§ Bengal Asiatic Researches, Vol. II. p. 139.

of Buddhism as a Brahman heretic; and that his father *Varisara*, or *Bindusara*, was a follower of the Brahman creed. The Chinese traveller *Fa Hian*, when he visited *Gradhra Kuta*, (peak of the Vulture) near Gaya, in the end of the fourth century of our era, saw there many cavern cells for ecclesiastics, and spots consecrated by Asoka, in commemoration of the events of Buddha's life. The Hindu annals of Kashmir relate that Asoka, before countenancing the new creed, had been a pious worshipper of *Siva*; and that in the reign of his son Jaloka, strenuous efforts were made by the Brahmans to suppress the extension of the Bauddha schism.*

Mahindo, or Mahendra, another of Asoka's sons, and a devoted follower of Buddhism, carries this religion into Ceylon, B. C. 209,–165.

Immediately after the third Bauddha convocation, *Mahindo*, or Mahendra, another of Asoka's sons, who had become a devoted follower of Buddhism, was sent into Ceylon, for the purpose of propagating the faith; and when Fa Hian, in his travels, visited the island, he found at *Anaradhapura* a magnificent temple, erected B. C. 157, during the reign of *Dutthagamini*,† of whom mention is made in the Karli inscription; and for laying the foundation of which thousands of Bauddha priests from *Rajagriha*, *Ujain* and *Kashmir*, had come to assist. Before the dogmas of Buddhism were introduced into Ceylon and Kashmir, *Naga* or snake worship appears to have been the prevailing superstition among the aborigines; and traces of its priority, or at least incorporation with the Buddhism of the Dekhan, are still discoverable in the cave inscriptions, and in the relics occasionally found in the vicinity of the excavations. The Buddhism of Ceylon was, however, orally promulgated and perpetuated, by the priesthood, till the reign of *Wattagamini*, B. C. 104 to B. C. 76; when, as related in the Singhalese *Atthakatha*, the principles of this religion were first recorded in books.

Extension of Buddhism, from Ceylon into the Dekhan, B. C. 145, being the date of the Karli inscription, which may serve as a clue to the probable age of all the other Dekhan caves.

The evidence of the Karli inscription renders it more than probable that the Buddhism of the Dekhan was introduced, during the reign of *Dutthagamini*; and this inference is not invalidated by proof, recorded at the caves of Kanari, that, in the middle of the century B. C. and during the supremacy, at *Sagala*, of the hierarch *Nagarjuna*, a close connection was maintained between the Panjab and Western India. Even prior to this time the Buddhism of Northern India, under the Emperor Asoka, appears to have spread into Malwa, and Girnar in Kahtiwar; though the Buddhism of the Dekhan was evidently not established before the time of the Ceylon monarchs, commencing with the religious and political ascendancy of Dutthagamini. The Bauddha deputations to Mahasamandala, Wanawasa, Maharatta, and Aparantaka countries, which are mentioned by the Mahawanso as having been sent for the promulgation of the faith, furnish confirmatory evidence that the stupendous works of antiquity, in Western India, had their origin from the connexion of the Peninsula with the island of Ceylon. Other admissions, by the narrative of the Ceylon Pali annals, serve to prove this intimate connexion between the island and the Dekhan; and the not least important of these is the philological one of acknowledgment that the oldest Pali Grammar, named the *Rupasiddhi*, was a revision, or compilation from the grammar of *Kachchayana*, composed in the Dekhan, while Buddhism prevailed as the religion of the state.‡ *Kachchayana*, the Bharman Katayana, was the earliest Sanskrit grammarian, who flourished, apparently as the cotemporary of Sakya Muni, in the middle of the sixth century B. C. The manifest derivation from *Sanskrit* of the *Prakrit* of the cave inscriptions, and even of the *Magadha Pali*, renders it probable that the grammar, from which the *Rupasiddhi* was taken, was a *Sanskrit* one, founded on the *Pratis'akhya Sutrani*, or grammatical aphorisms, belonging to the collection of the Vedas; which, as Dr. Roth's investigations shew, cannot be earlier than 500 B. C. The Karli cave, however, being the oldest of all the Dekhan excavations, and not before the middle of the second century B. C. would reduce the origin of *Pali Philology* to a comparatively recent period, harmonizing well with the assertion of the Ceylon Buddhistical annals that the principles of the Buddha faith there were not recorded in books until B. C. 76.

Comparative age of other Dekhan excavations, from B. C. 145 to A. D. 420.

The Kanari excavations cannot be long after the date of the cave at Karli; for if my conjecture be well founded that the cross, and inscription in Roman letters, met with on the leg of one of the statues of Buddha on the left of the great cave, indicate its connexion with the doctrines of spurious Christianity, brought from the shores of Egypt and Arabia, their age may be assigned to the century preceding the Christian era. It is probable that the various caves, so extensive here, belong to different periods, and were constructed by a Bauddha colony. Their completion and celebrity, in the beginning of the fourth century of the Christian era, may be inferred, however, from the marked allusion made to them, at this time, by the Chinese traveller Fa Hian.

* See Wilson's Essay on the History of Kashmir, Asiatic Researches, Vol. XV. p. 83.

† Turnour's Mahawanso, Chap 29. p. 171.

‡ Turnour's Introduction to the Mahawanso, p. 25.

I



II.

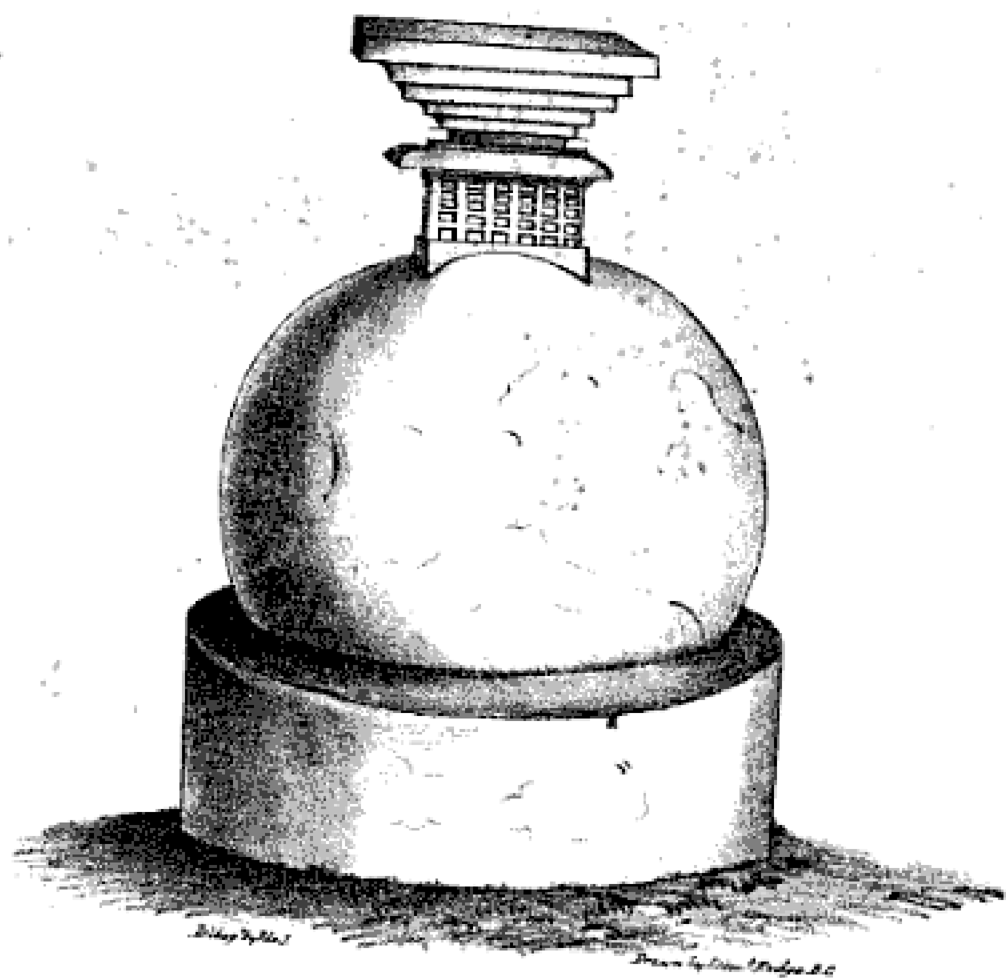


III

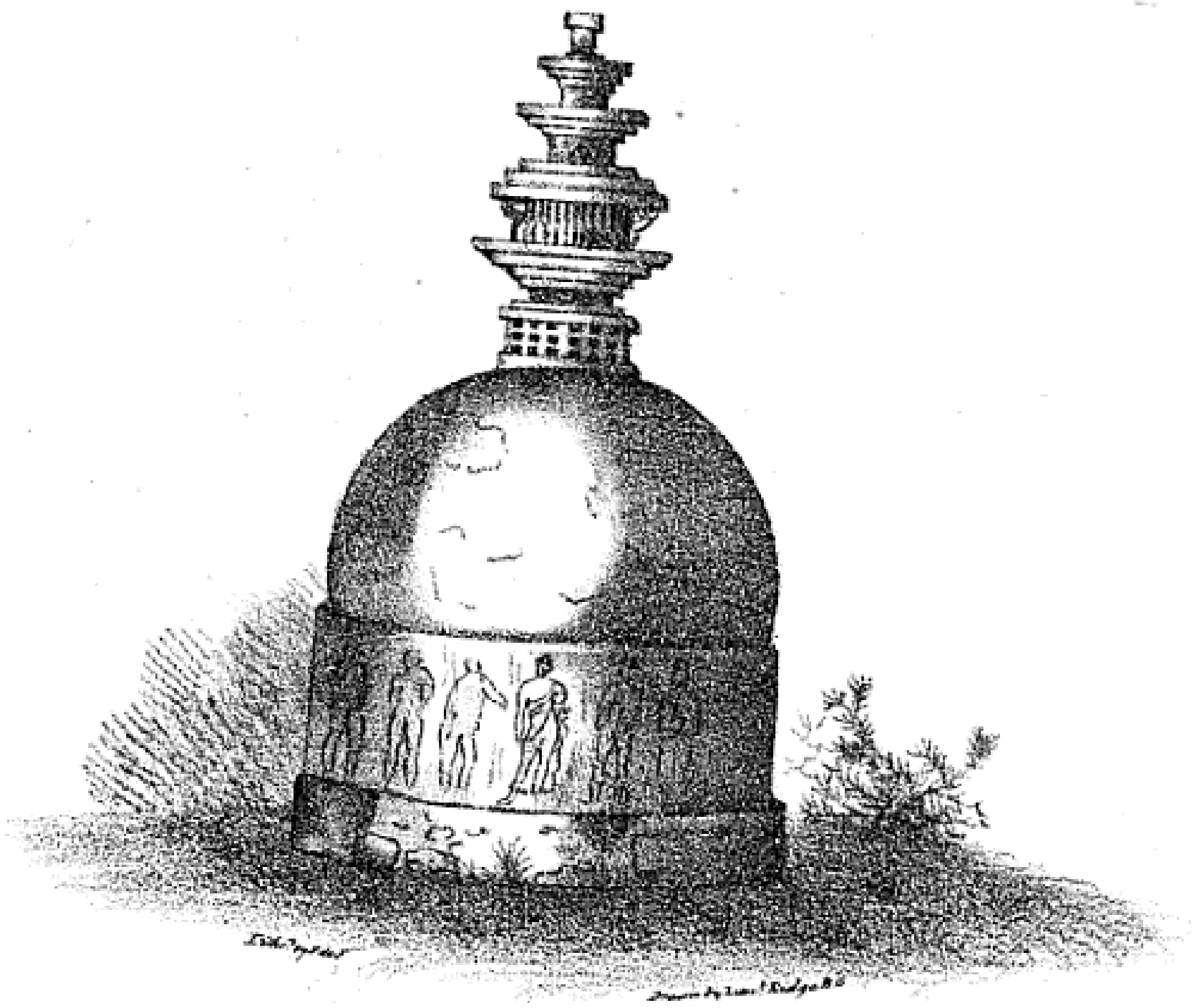




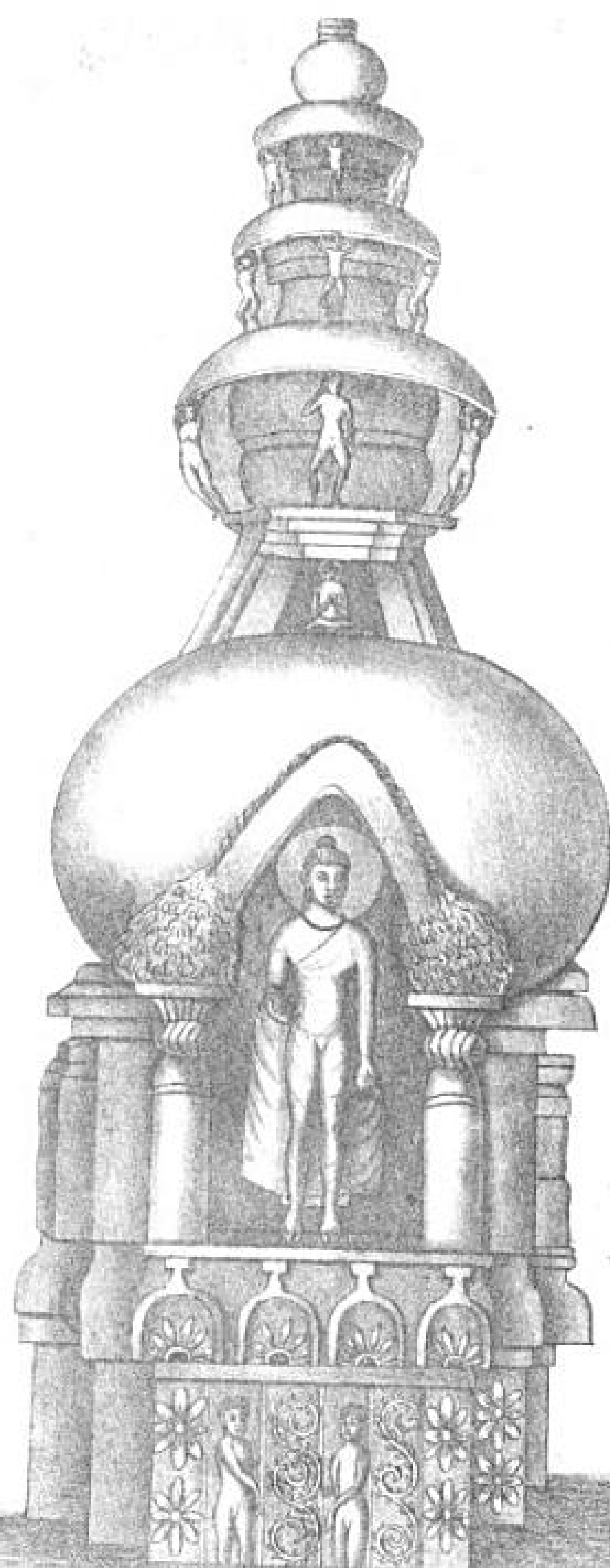
IV.



V.



VI.

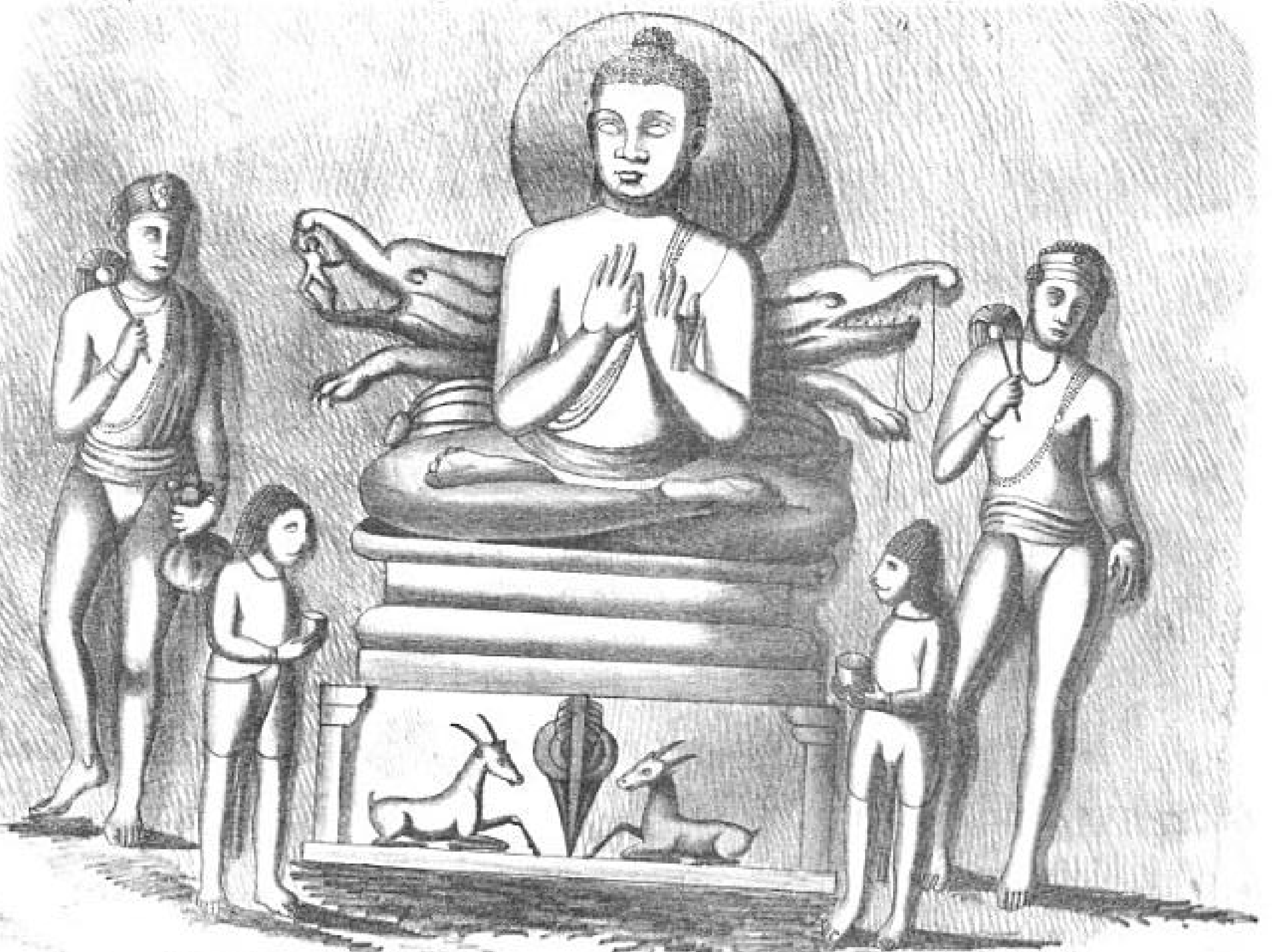


Drawn by R. Jackson

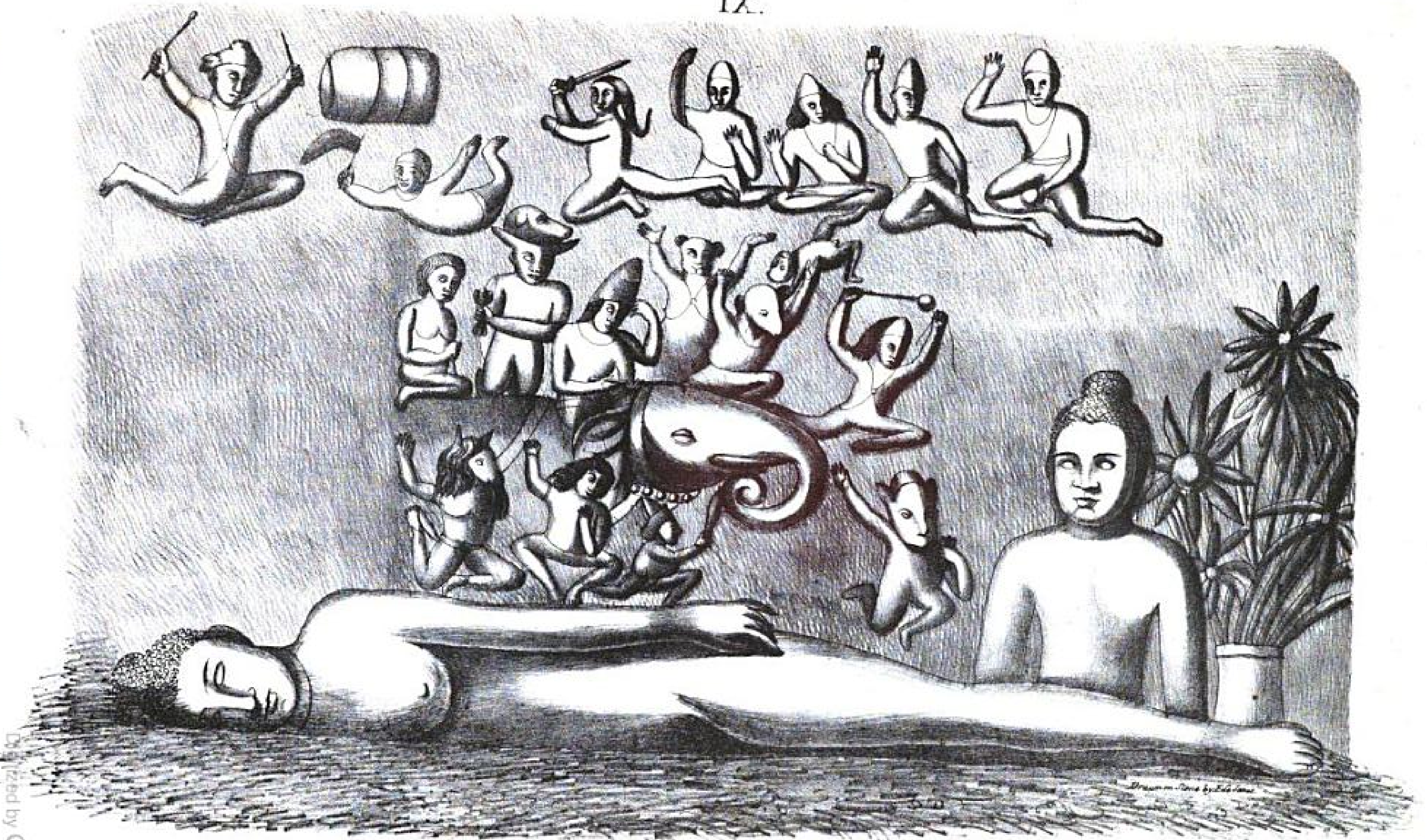
VII.



VIII.



IX.



L.

Inscriptions from the Caves of Junir.

VIII.

A very beautiful inscription has partly pealed away and is partly buried, by the porch of a buried cell.

IX.

In a long line on the front of the Temple.

X.

Over a cell on the left hand.

XIII.

XI.

On the left hand side of the door way of the Chapel.

XII.

from a copy by Professor Orlebar.

Inscriptions from the Caves of Nasik.

I.

In front of a small cell

II.

This over the Cell on the right of the verandah where the large inscription is

from a copy by Professor Orlebar.

Digitized by Google

LI.

Inscriptions from the Caves at Nasick.

III. [lar]

Line 1st

Line 2d

Line 3d

Line 4th

From a copy by H. Reeves Esquire

IV.

Over the Cell on the left hand of the large Inscription.

Line 1

" 2

3.

4.

5.

6.

From a Copy by H. Reeves Esqre
22 April 1841

7.

Wherever there occurs a dot or dotted line ...... the letter has either been worn away & rendered imperfect as far as the dots extend, or the lines are doubtful to the same extent, and I was afraid to fill them for fear of misleading.
H. R.

LII.

Inscriptions from the Caves at Nasik

Copied by Professor Orlebar

V.

An Inscription on the left hand side of the large cave ring imperfect.

On the left hand side of a Cell

" right " of the same

VI.

Small rough inscription on the right hand side under the large

VII.

VIII.

First lines well cut on left hand side under the large

IX.

Imperfect Inscription on left hand side

Inscriptions from the Caves of Birsa and Bajah; near Wargam on the Poona road.

No. I. Over a small Cell at Birsa.

No. II. Over a water reservoir.

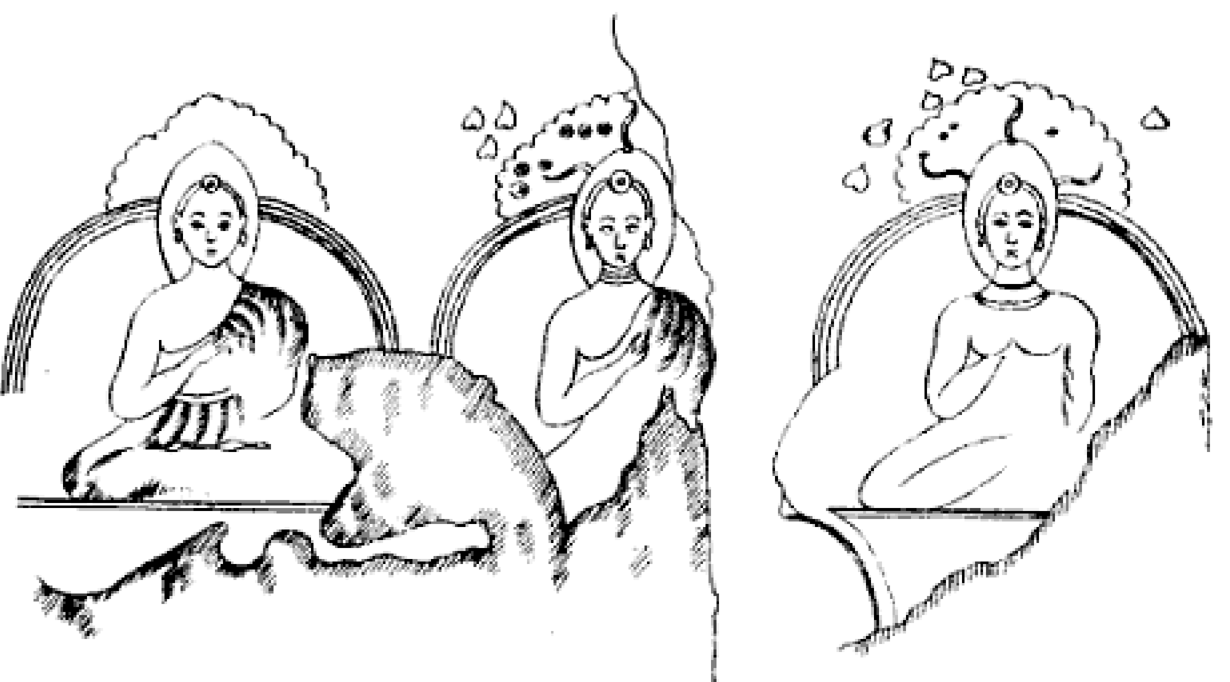
No. III. Over two Wells at Bajah.

No. IV. On the first of the nine Dehgopas, outside a Cave at Bajah.

From Copies by Mr. N. L. Westergaard.

Supplemental Inscription, written with white paint, in one of the side caves at Karli.

A Sketch, by Mr. Masson, of a fresco painting, in a niche of the second idol at the Caves of Bamian.





Supplementary Plate of Coins from the Countries of Kabul and the Panjab.

Class 1st Early Bauddha.



Class 2d
Mithraic and Ard-okro Coins.

No. 13 No. 14 No. 15 No. 16 No. 17

No. 18 No. 19 No. 20

No. 21 No. 22

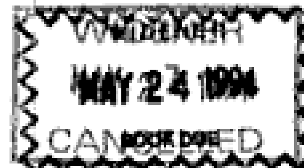
No. 23 No. 24 No. 25 No. 26

No. 27

No. 28 ΚΡΑ CA ΜΙΘΥΑΖ

No. 29




WIDENER
MAY 24 1994
BOOK DUE
CANCELLED

XVIII.







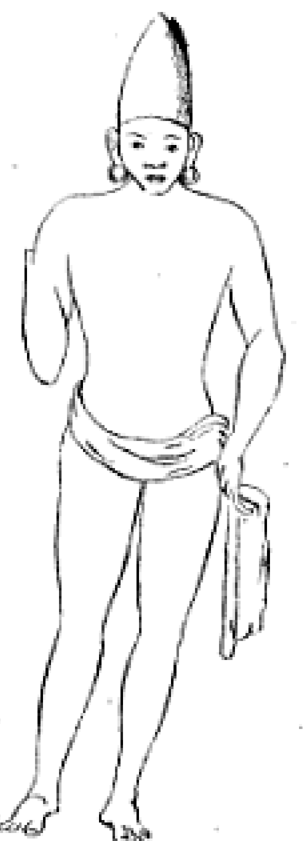


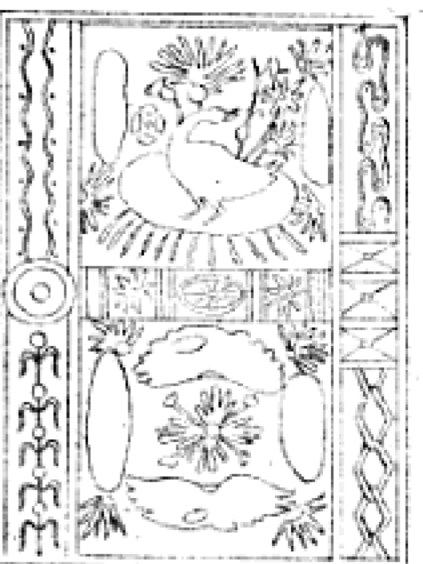
Lithog.d by F. de Jersey

Drawn by Lionel Hodge, B.C.

XIX.



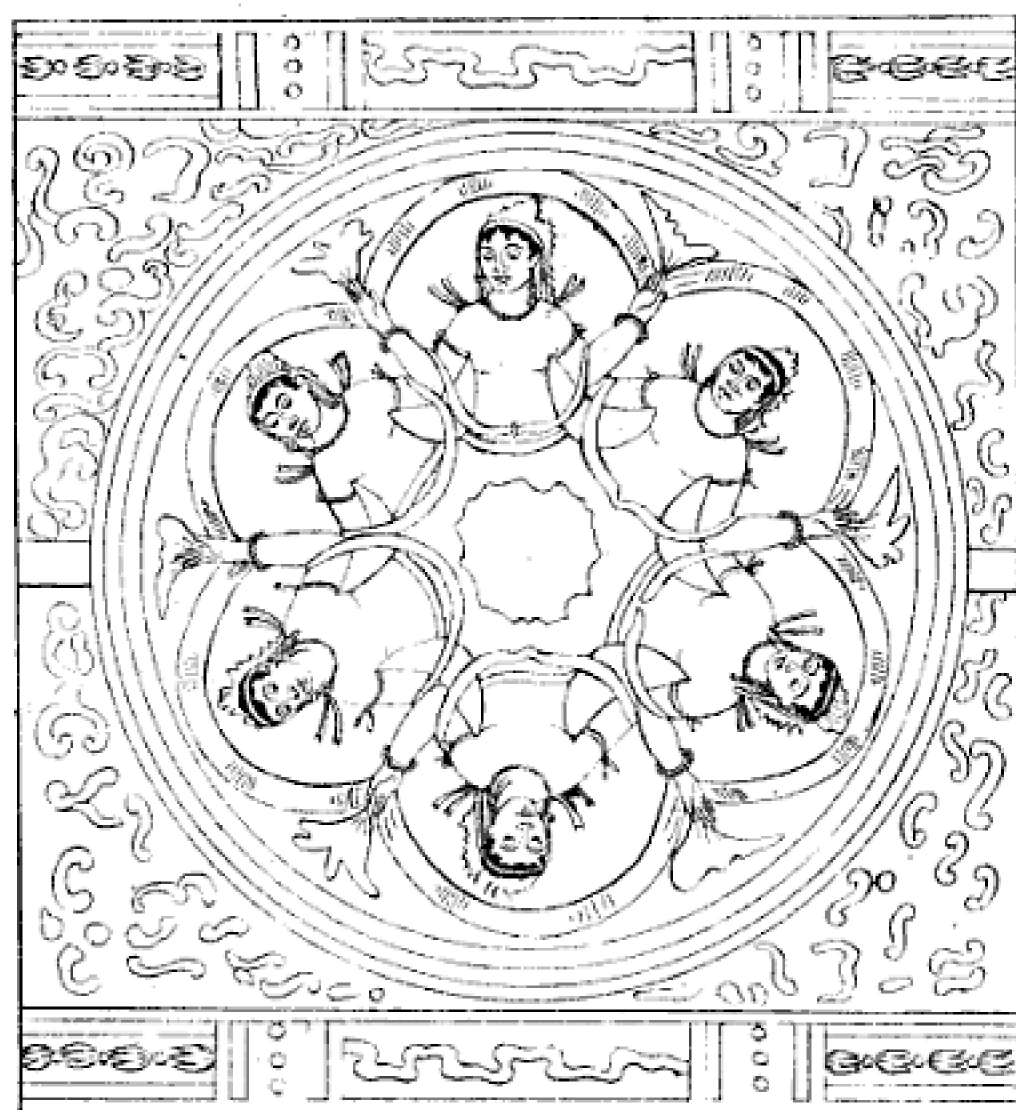




Lithogd. by F. de J.

Drawn by Lieut G. Hodges, B.C.

XX.



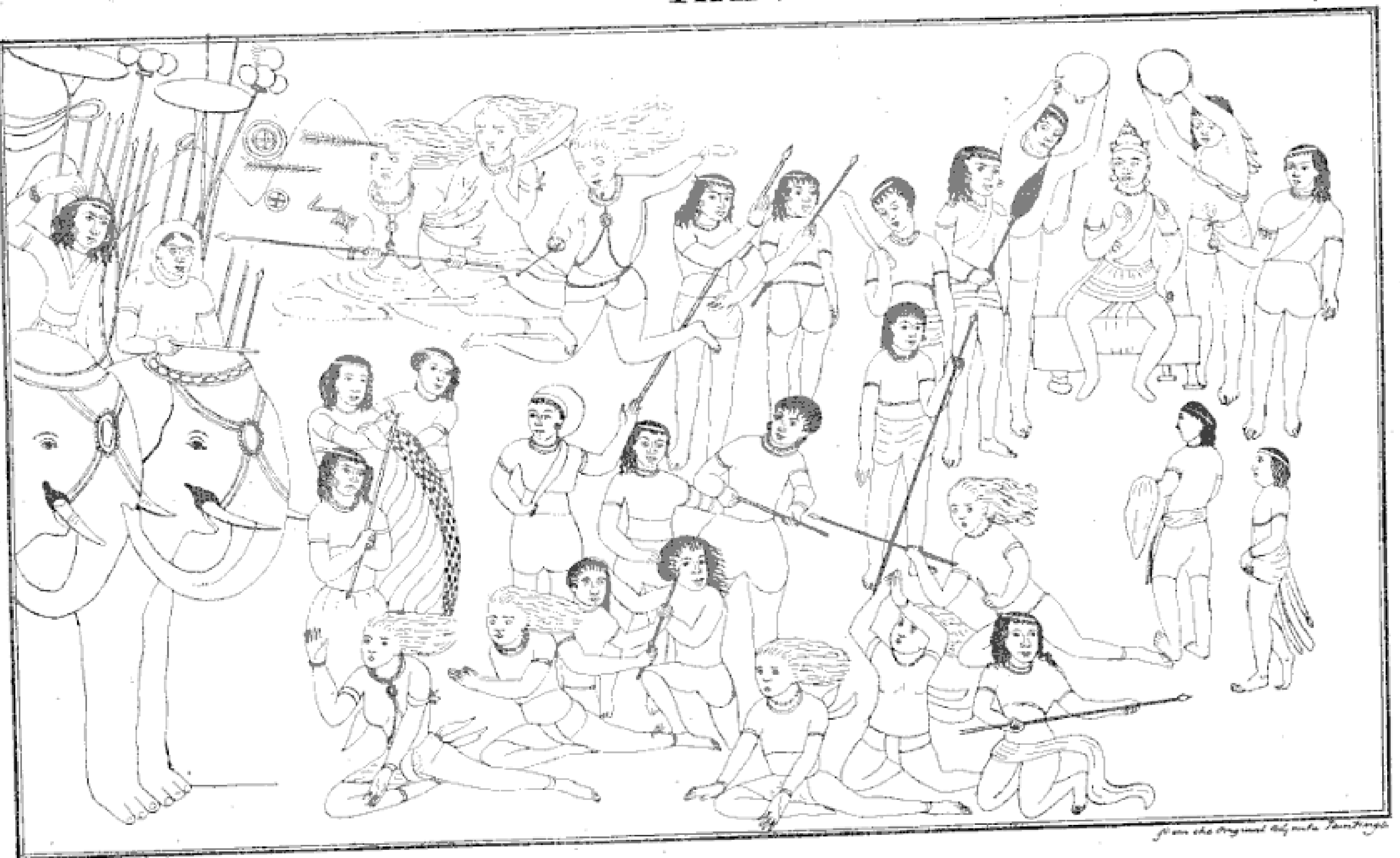
XXI.



Drawn by

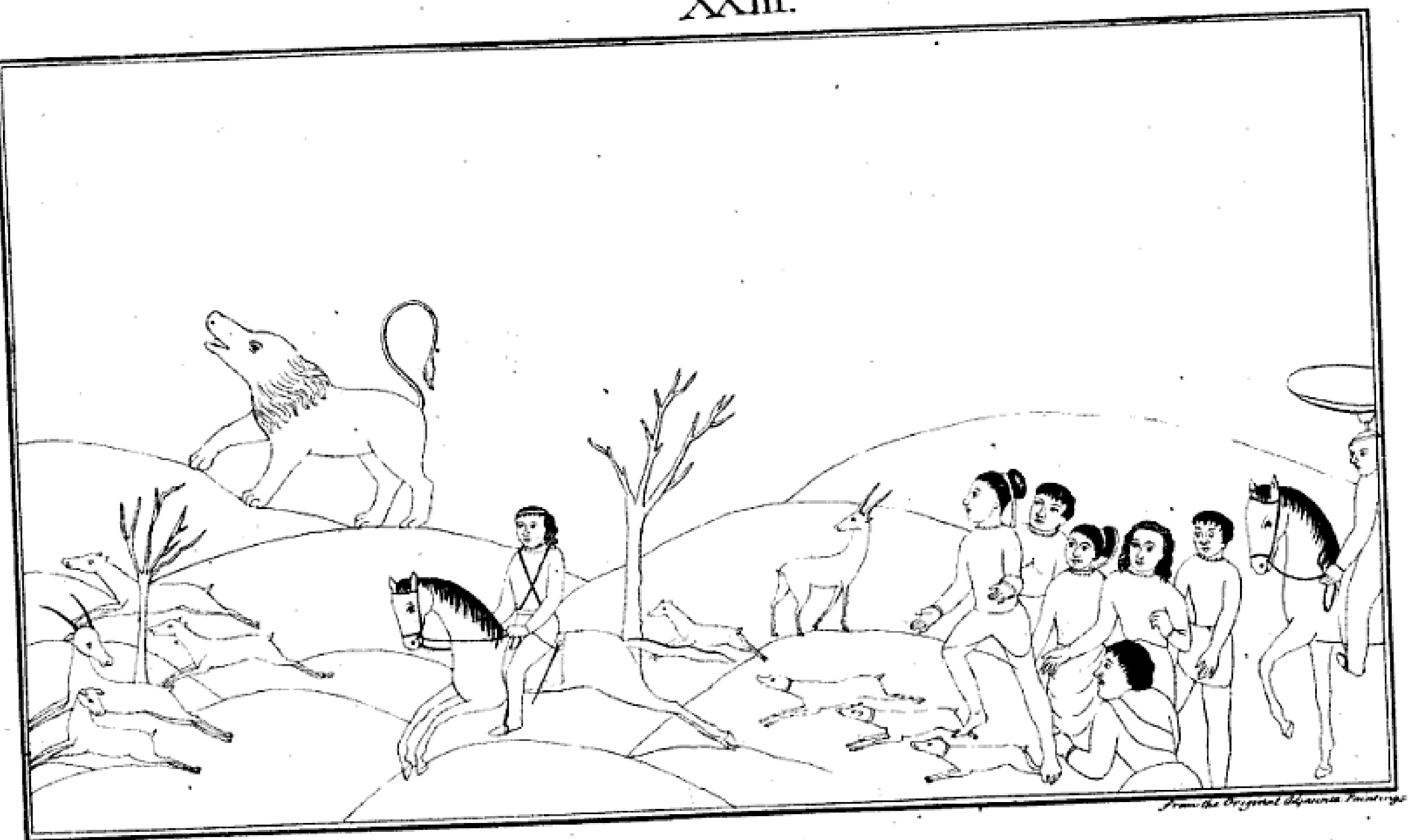
from the Original Paintings at

XXII.



Drawn by P. de Jesus

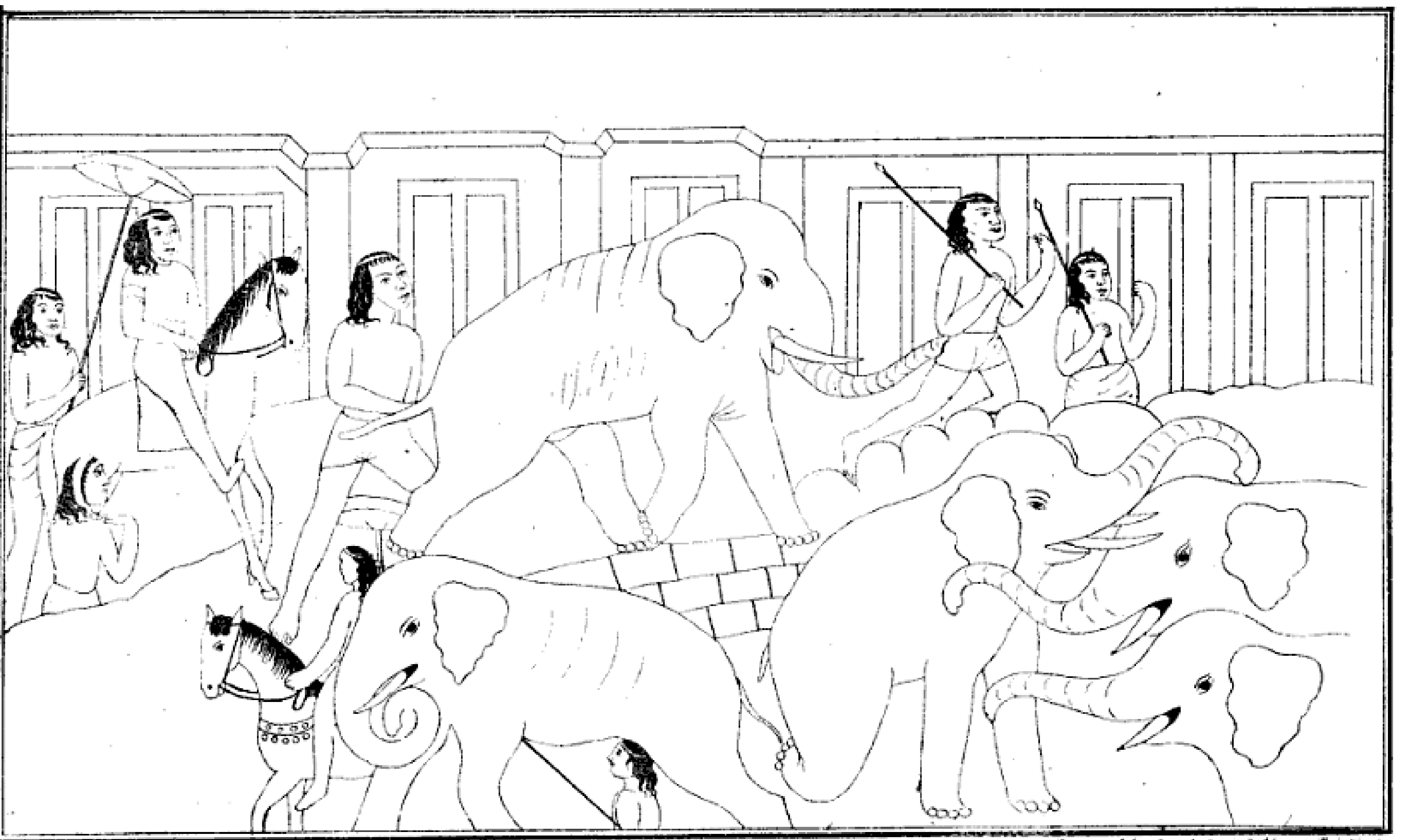
XXIII.



Drawn by F. de [illegible]

From the Original [illegible] Paintings

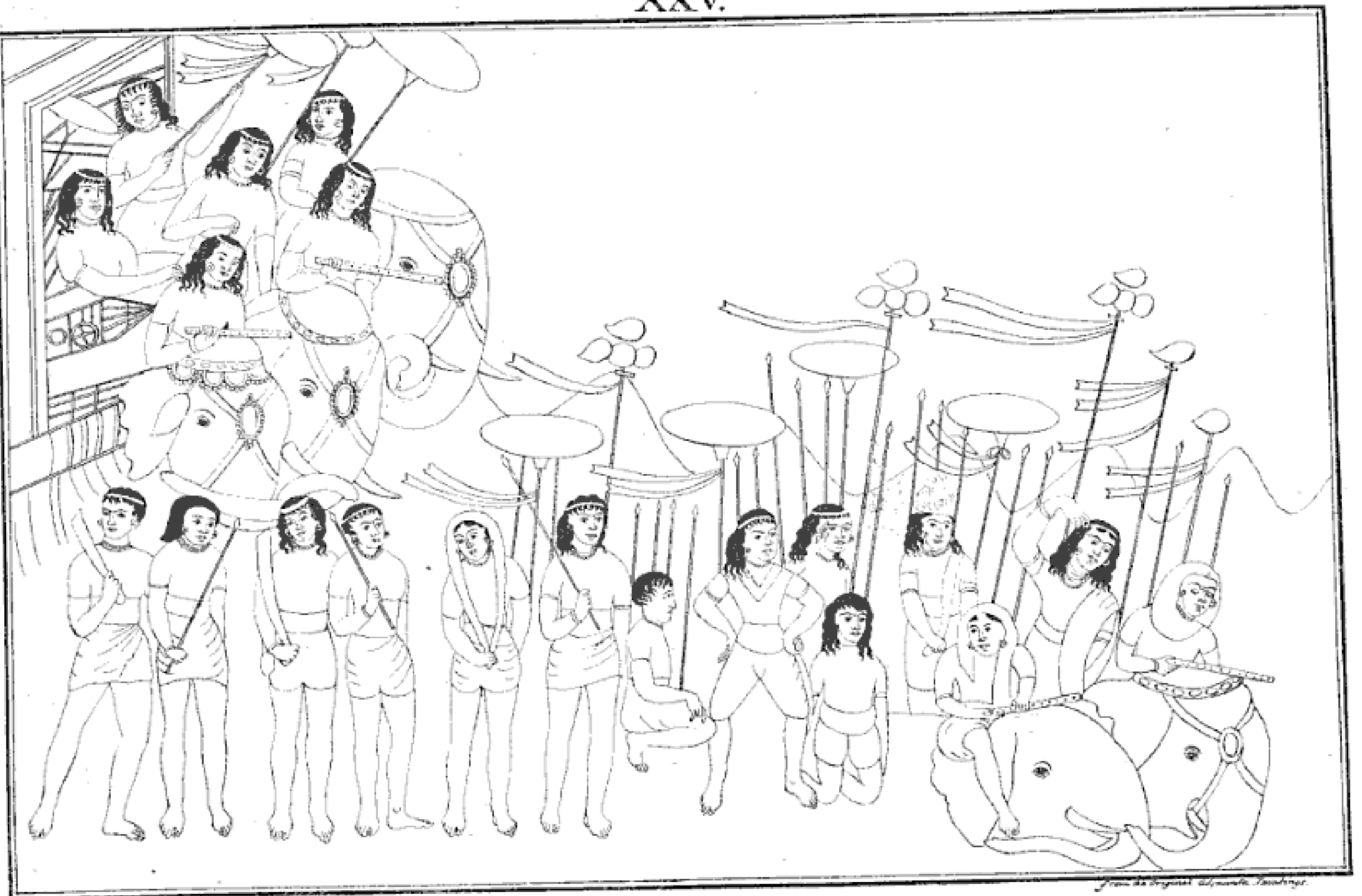
XXIV.



Drawn by Francis de Jesus

Taken from the Original Ajunta Paintings

XXV.



XXVI.



XXVII.



Drawn by F. de Jesus. From the Original Adjunta Drawings

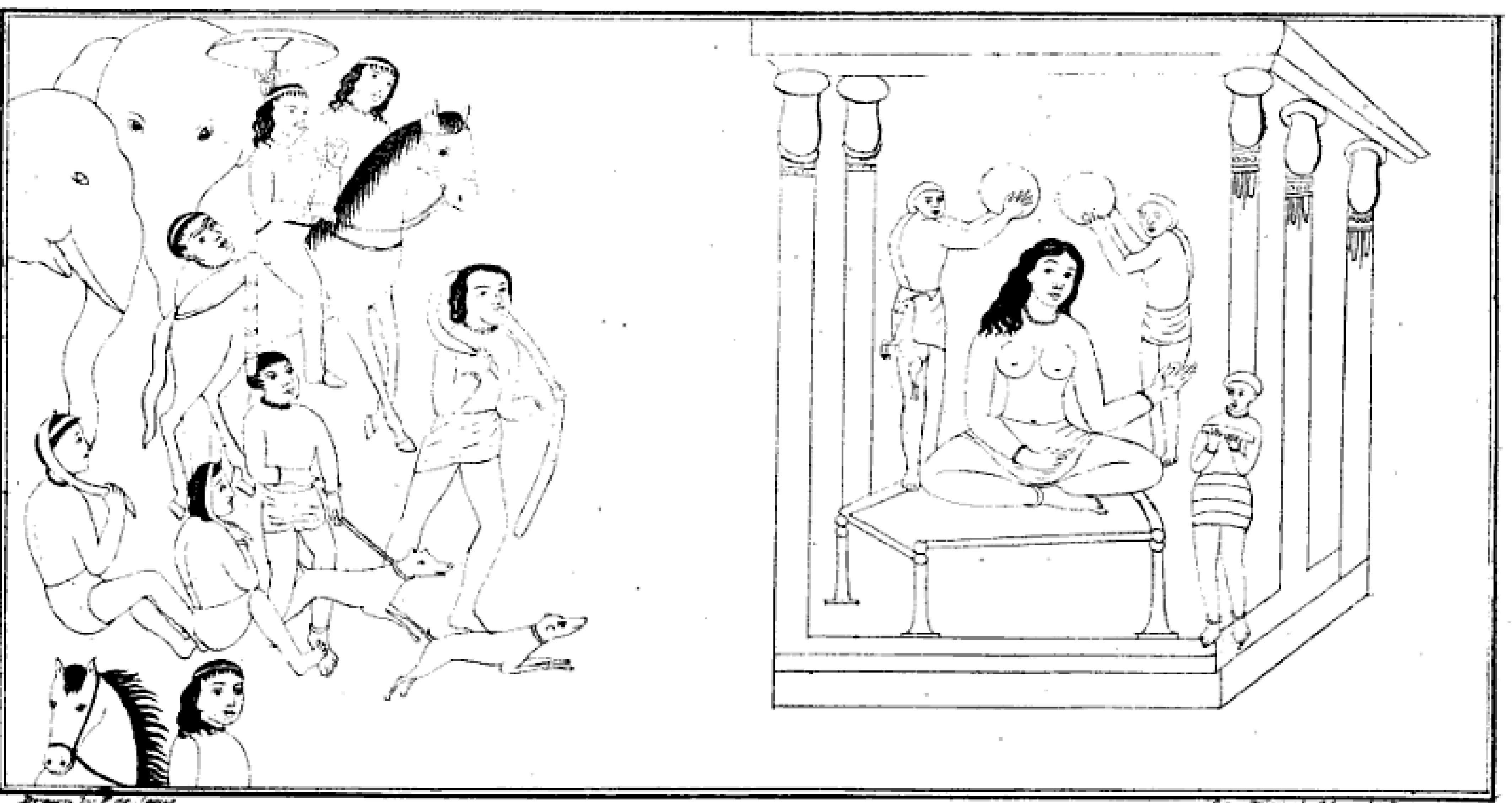
XXVIII.



XXIX.



XXX



XXXI.





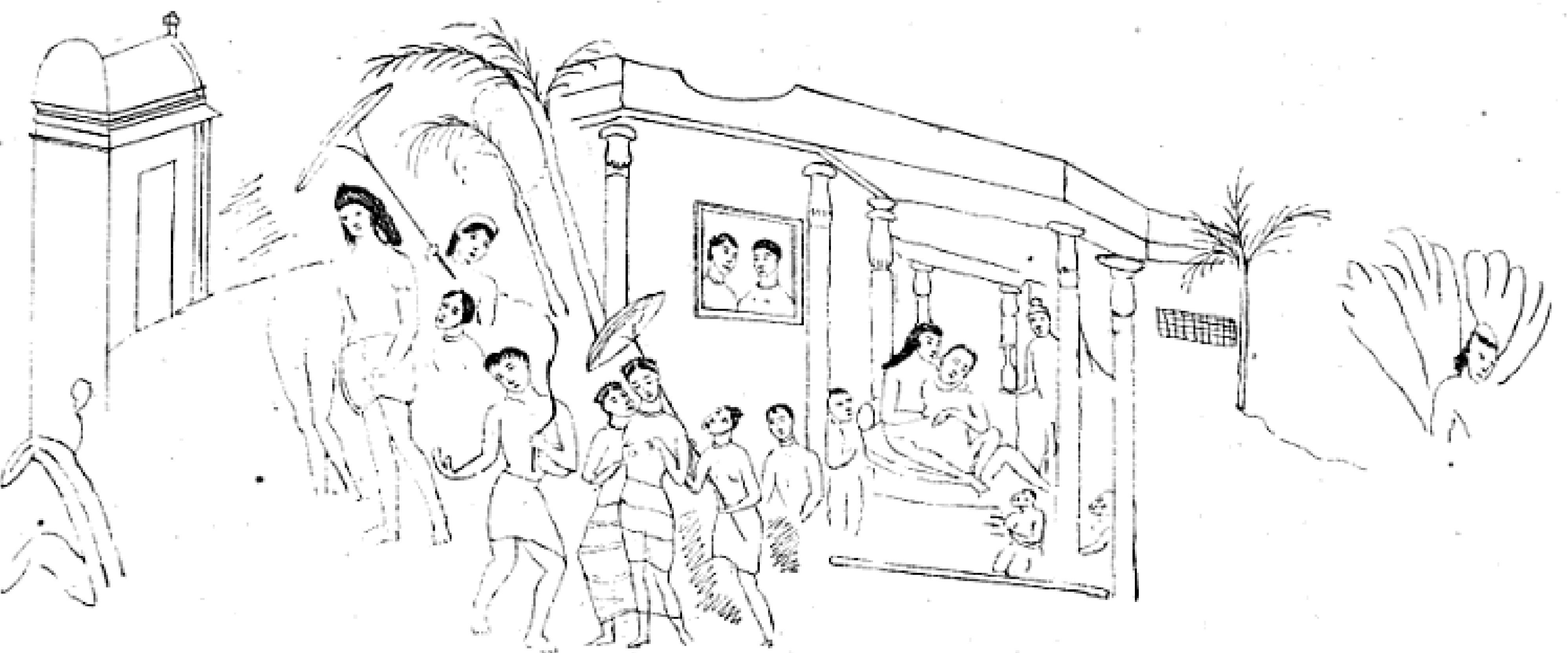
XXXII.



Drawn by Fdo. James

from the Original of Ajunta Paintings.

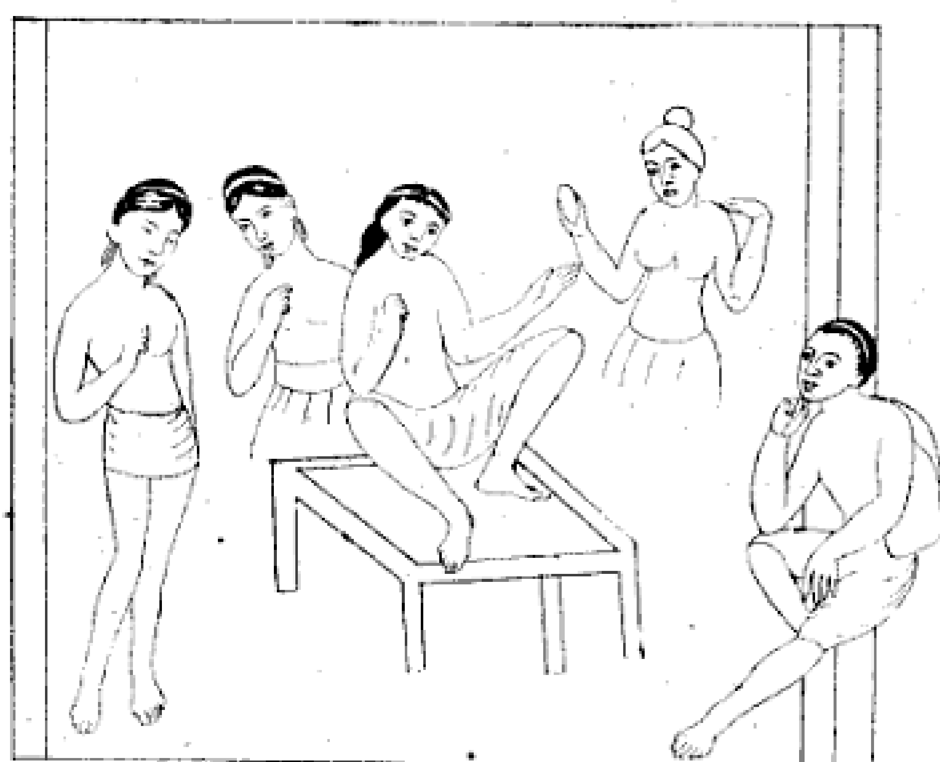
XXXIII.



Lithog.d by F. de J.

Drawn by Major Foley.

XXXIIII.



Drawn by [illegible]

from an original [illegible] Drawings

Inscriptions at Karlé.

I.

From a fac-simile by the Rev. Dr. Wilson.

II.

From a fac-simile by the Rev. Dr. Wilson.

III.

From a fac-simile by Dr. Smyttan.

IV.

From a fac-simile by the Rev. J. Mitchell.

V.

VI.

From a fac-simile by the Rev. J. Mitchell.

E

From a fac-simile by the Rev. J. Mitchell.

VII.

From a fac-simile by the Rev. Dr. Wilson.

VIII.

From a fac-simile by the Rev. Dr. Wilson.

XXXVIII.

Inscriptions from the Caves of Karli

IX.

X.

XI.

XII.

from a fac simile by The Revd. Dr. Wilson

XXXIX.

Inscriptions at Mahar near Bankut.

I.

From a fac-simile by James Bird Esq[re]

Inscription from a Buddhaist cave near Mahar in the Konkan.

II.

From a Copy by James Bird Esq[re]

XL.

Inscriptions from the Kanári Caves.

I.

III.

II.

IV.

V.

From a fac simile by J. Bird Esqr.

XLI.

Inscriptions from the Kanari Caves.

VI.

VII.

VIII.

IX.

From a fac-simile by J. Bird Esq.re

Inscriptions from the Kanari Caves.

X.

XI.

XII.

XIII.

from a fac-simile by J. Bird Esqr.

XLIV.

Inscriptions from the Kanari Caves

XIV.

XV.

from a fac-simile by James Bird Esq.re

XLV.

Inscriptions from the Kanari Caves.

XVI.

XVII.

XVIII.

from a fac-simile by J. Bird, Esq.re

XLVI.

Inscriptions from the Kanari Caves.

XIX.

XX.

XXI.

XXII.

XXIII.

from a fac-simile by J. Bird Esq.re

XLVII.

Inscriptions from the Kanari Caves.

XXIV.

XXV.

XXVI.

XXVII.

XXVIII.

Inscription on the larger plate of Copper found in the Tope at Kanary, which was opened by James Bird Esqre

Inscription from the Kanari Caves.

XXIX.

Inscriptions from the Ajanta Caves.

I.

From below the feet of a Colossal statue of Buddhas & at the entrance of the Cave No 12 West.

II.

III.

IV.

The beginning, or left hand side of the upper line of an inscription at Ajanta bang on the left hand at entering No 4 Cave there.

Right hand side of No 4 inscription copied from the 10th line towards the left hand as far as the letters were well marked.

The above is part of the two lower lines of an Inscription.

V.

Inscription from the Kanari Caves.

XXIX.

Inscriptions from the Ajanta Caves.

I.

From below the feet of a Colossal statue of Buddhas & at the entrance of the Cave No. 12. Hist.—

II.

III.

IV.

The beginning, or left hand side of the upper line of an inscription at Ajanta being at the left hand at entering No. 2 Cave there.

Right hand side of No. 4 inscription copied from the 10th line towards the left hand as far as the letters were well marked.

The above is part of the two lower lines of an Inscription.

V.

XLIX.

Inscriptions from the Caves of Junir.

I

On the front of the inverted Ship

II.

Between the doors of cells on the right of the temple

By stairs on the left of the temple

III.

Another in a similar position, with letters scribbled in

IV.

On a smoothed surface about four feet square.

V.

Three distinct inscriptions on the octagonal sides of the pillars of the Portico of the Temple.

VI.

On the inner wall of the verandah, very much worn

VII.

On the cushion, under the inverted ship there are many small letters in three long rows, but they are too unsatisfactory to copy, underneath is a row of large letters, badly cut and much worn.

(there seemed to be two more letters at the beginning)

From a copy by Professor Orlebar.